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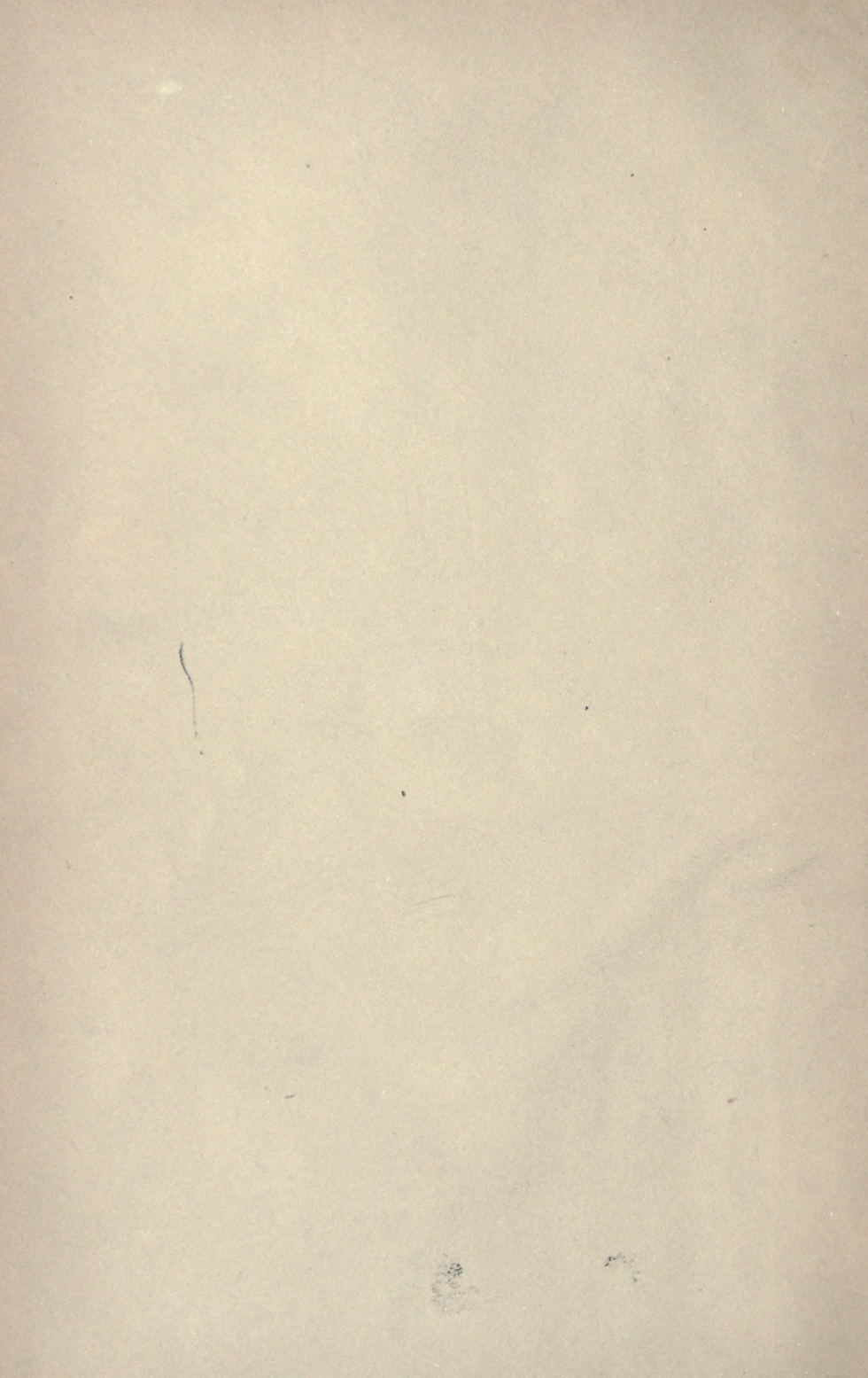








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## The Passover Papyrus from Elephantine<sup>1</sup>

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**A**MONG the papyri discovered at Elephantine in the years 1907 and 1908, and recently published by Professor Sachau of Berlin, is one which relates to the feast of the Passover. It is Papyrus 6 of the Sachau publication.<sup>2</sup> This brief and fragmentary document is second in interest and importance only to the two papyri which preserve the text of the petition from the Jewish community at Elephantine to the Persian governor of Judea, invoking his aid toward restoring the Yahwè temple of Elephantine, destroyed in 410 B.C.

Papyrus 6 is the original of a letter addressed to this Jewish community at Elephantine in the year 419 B.C., nine years before the destruction of their temple, by a certain Hananyah, a Jew residing at some other locality in Egypt. The papyrus is, and was originally, about four and a half inches long. The fragment of it which remains is about eight and a quarter inches wide. What the original width was, we cannot say, as the left end has been torn off clean at a fold in the papyrus; probably, however, not more than an inch or two is lacking all the way down that end. Unfortunately that is not the extent of the damage. An entire section in addition is missing from the lower right-hand corner, so that in all not more than two-thirds of the original text remains. What remains is perfectly legible, however, and there can be almost no question as to its correct interpretation.

<sup>1</sup> The substance of this article was read at the meeting of the *Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* in New York, December 28, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-kolonie zu Elephantine*, Leipsic, 1911.

The letter consisted of six complete lines on the obverse side of the papyrus, after two initial words in a separate line at the top, and two and a half lines on the reverse side, besides a docket or address in one line at the lower edge, which appeared on the outside of the document when the latter was folded and sealed. The docket reads:

אחי ידניה וכנותה חילא יהודיא אחוכם חנניה

A portion of the papyrus has been torn away before the word **אחי**, which probably contained the word **אל**. So that the address ran as follows: *To my brethren, Yedonyah and his associates the Judean garrison, your brother Hananyah.*

The docket enables us to piece out with assurance the gaps which worms have left in the superscription of the letter. Doing which, we secure the following text (supplementary letters bracketed; seriously mutilated ones overlined):





## TRANSLATION

- 1 To my brethren,
- 2 Yedonyah and his associates the Judean garrison, your brother Hananyah: The welfare of my brethren may  
the Gods . . .
- 3 For the rest: This year, the year 5 of Darius the King, being sent from the King to Arsames . . .
- 4 . . . . . Now, do ye count thus fou(rteen)
- 5 . . . . . and from the 15th day to the 21st day of . . .
- 6 . . . . . Be ye clean and make yourselves ready. No work . .
- 7 . . . . . ye shall not drink. And everything that leaven . . .
- 8 . . . . . the setting of the sun to the 21st day of Nisan . . .
- 9 . . . . . take into your rooms and lock up between the days of . .
- 10 . . . . .



Line 2. The full name of Yedonyah, the leader of the Jewish community at Elephantine at this date, as well as later when the temple was destroyed and for some time thereafter, was *Yedonyah bar Gemaryah*; compare Sachau Papyrus 5 (quoted below); Papyrus 15, where the first name was carelessly spelled ידניא (Sachau transcribes wrongly ידניא); and Papyrus 18, col. 7, where Yedonyah appears as the custodian of the great collection of money for the temple of Yahwè. Papyrus 15 is not improbably an account of the attack on the temple, when Yedonyah and his companions, the writer among them (read in line 4 בבכא בנא, not בבכא בבכא, as Sachau), were assaulted (or insulted, אתחרפו, not אתחרבו 'killed,' as suggested by Sachau) while guarding the entrance to the temple. On the etymology of the name Yedonyah, see Sachau, *l.c.*, p. 8, and Lidzbarski, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1911, col. 2980.

After אלהיא we must supply ישאלו, literally, *The welfare of my brethren may the Gods ask after*, idiomatic for *God greet you!* The sentence is a stereotyped Aramaic formula. It does not follow from the use of such an expression that "mehrere Götter unter den jüdischen Kolonen verehrt wurden" (Sachau, *l.c.*, p. 38). On the other hand, although אלהיא is the lexical equivalent of Hebrew האלהים, it is not, in this context, synonymous with Yahwè, as maintained by Eduard Meyer.<sup>3</sup> Whether or not the Hebrew האלהים, in the mouth of a Jew of this period, meant Yahwè, would very much depend upon the matter in hand. (Commonly, the surrogate of Yahwè would be אלהים *Deity*, not האלהים *the gods*.) Hananyah certainly did not use a singular verb with the determinate plural noun, or read a meaning of his own into the accepted Aramaic rubric.<sup>4</sup> Without "worshiping" other gods or conceding their equality with the God of Heaven, even the "orthodox" Jew of this period might in his ordinary mood—the nascent Old Testament literature notwithstanding—accept both their existence and

<sup>3</sup> "Zu den aramäischen Papyri von Elephantine," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich-preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1911, p. 1051.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Lidzbarski, *l.c.*, col. 2971.

the fact of their power for good or ill. The long-exiled Judeans of Elephantine might even contribute something to the cultus of the gods of their non-Israelitish Aramean countrymen in Egypt,<sup>5</sup> without impairing their loyalty to the ancestral god.

Line 3. וְכֵּעַת, which I render *For the rest*, literally *And now*, introduces the substance of the communication, as in Ezra 4 17 and, in the uncontracted form וּכְכֵּנֶת, Ezra 4 11, 7 12.

שְׁלִיחַ, passive participle, is not impersonal, as is assumed by Sachau and Ed. Meyer. The subject was indicated in the lost finite verb which followed the word אֲרֻשָּׁם, and to which this participle is circumstantial; compare Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, §§ 275, 277. See further below.

Line 4. The detached letters יא are apparently preceded by a יוֹדִיאָ: יוֹדִיאָ?

At the end of the line I supplete, with Sachau, Ed. Meyer, and Lidzbarski, אַרְבָּעַת עָשָׂר, *fourteen*.

Line 5, end. Supply נִיכָן, after the parallel in line 8.

Line 6. אֲדַהֲרֵי, *take warning, prepare yourselves*. עֲבִידָה begins a new sentence.

Line 7. The י of וַי and the מ of הַמִּיר are by no means plain. If one may judge from the photographic reproduction, the ink seems to have run in the fibers of the papyrus. Or perhaps the papyrus is a palimpsest, with the earlier writing not completely removed. In any case, the two characters cannot be read otherwise.

מִנְדָּעָם, *thing*, cf. Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, p. 312; occurs a number of times in the papyri.

The א at the end of the line is certain. Doubtless we should supplete, with Sachau, אֵיתִי בָּהּ, *and everything that has leaven in it*.

Line 9. The first word preserved is not וְעָלִי, as Sachau, followed by Ed. Meyer. The mutilated first letter cannot be a ו, but may very well be ה. Read הַנְּעָלִי (Hanphel of עלל); cf. Sayce-Cowley Papyrus G 6. 7. 24. 27. Only so, moreover, can we construe חַתְּמוֹ, which otherwise remains

<sup>5</sup> Sachau Papyrus 18, col. 7.



without an object. Sachau renders, *tretet in euere Gemächer und versiegelt (macht Schluss?) zwischen den Tagen*. Meyer: *Geht in euere Kammern und siegelt (?) zwischen den Tagen*, adding what he would doubtless admit to be a rather far-fetched interpretation, "Setzt ein Siegel, macht eine Scheidewand zwischen diesen Festtagen und den Werktagen." The single object of הַנְּעִלוֹ and הַתְּמוֹ preceded both verbs. We must read הַתְּמוֹ (Pa'il), which does not mean *to seal*, but *to lock up*. The reference is perhaps to merchandise, ordinarily displayed in open booths or upon the street, which they are directed to stow away during the first and seventh days of the feast (see below). If this interpretation is correct, Lidzbarski's suggested reading for the remainder of the line, "בֵּין יוֹמֵיָא *zwischen Tag und Nacht*, entsprechend בֵּין שְׁמֵשֵׁיָא" (*l.c.*, col. 2970), must be rejected, and we must abide by בֵּין יוֹמֵיָא. Is בֵּין *during*?

The original letter contained six or seven more words, beyond the point where the above translation finally breaks off; but (and this is important) it contained no more, for the next line stopped half-way across the papyrus.

It is perfectly clear that we have here a letter of instruction to the Jewish community at Elephantine, with directions for the punctilious observance of a feast to which the seven days extending from the fifteenth to the twenty-first day of the month Nisan sustain some essential relation; a feast which, moreover, requires abstinence from labor during at least a part of its continuance. This can be none other than the Passover—employing the term in the looser sense, of the Passover and feast of Unleavened Bread combined. And with this much assured, we need not hesitate to find in the suspended words of line 7 a reference to the banishing of leaven from every nook and corner of the houses of the faithful.

One point only occasions remark: the prohibition of some sort of beverage. No such prohibition is found in any of the Old Testament laws concerning the Passover. And the beverage in question can hardly have been wine. The later

Rabbinical usage prescribed such repeated potations of wine during the Passover ritual<sup>6</sup> that drunkenness not infrequently resulted. The New Testament evidence is familiar. It is true that we have no positive testimony to the use of wine during the Passover festivities until late in the second century B.C.<sup>7</sup> Our earliest witness is the Book of Jubilees, which in 49:6 represents the Israelites as drinking wine at the first Passover in Egypt; this implies that the drinking of wine at the Passover was not merely allowed, but actually customary and regular in the writer's day. However, the suggestion recently made by Beer that wine came into use in connection with the Passover only after 350 B.C. and under Greek influence, is lacking in plausibility. Hannah needed no Greek influence, in the opinion credited to the experienced Eli, on the occasion of another great festival at Shiloh. And while it is not probable that wine-drinking accompanied the celebration of the old nomad Passover, so long as this remained distinct from the Canaanitish feast of Unleavened Bread, it is hard to believe that the latter feast was ever observed without the use of wine, if there was any to be had. The fact will be that wine came into use in connection with the Passover ritual when, and in proportion as, it was combined and identified, in post-exilic Judaism, with the feast of Unleavened Bread. In any case, we have no reason to believe that there ever was a time when the use of wine at the Passover or at the feast of Unleavened Bread was actually prohibited. For the rest, the fact that the Old Testament laws contain no prohibition of any particular beverage, and that this brief letter of instruction to the Jews of Elephantine specifically prohibits one, leaves no doubt that the reference in the latter is to some beverage very common in Egypt and almost if not quite unknown in Palestine. This must be beer.<sup>8</sup> Egyptian beer, produced from barley with the addition of certain vegetable ingredients,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Mishna, *Pesahim* 10:1.

<sup>7</sup> See Beer, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1911, p. 153.

<sup>8</sup> So also Lidzbarski, *l.c.*, col. 2970. I owe the suggestion, together with the reference to the Mishnic law, to Professor George F. Moore.

<sup>9</sup> See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, I, pp. 53 f.



was held to fall clearly under the law of forbidden leaven: a passage in the Mishna<sup>10</sup> prohibits explicitly, during the Feast of Passover, the use of "Egyptian beer," together with other fermented liquids into which cereals have entered.

From the limited dimensions of our papyrus, and especially from the distribution of the surviving material, it is quite certain that the papyrus made no reference whatever to the slaying of the Passover lamb. The only available space for the mention of the Passover lamb is in the first half of line 5, and not even all of that half-line is available, for at least the word לֶחֶם must have stood there to complete the sentence at the end of line 4. There is room for only three or four words, not enough for the barest reference to the rite, to say nothing of any instructions in connection with it. In other words, *our papyrus related solely to the feast of Unleavened Bread.*

Nor may we suppose that the Passover lamb is to be omitted from the observance out of regard for the susceptibilities of the native Egyptians and their aversion to the slaughter of rams and he-goats, as was done later with all animal sacrifices at the restoration of the temple of Elephantine.<sup>11</sup> For it must be remembered that for nine years after the date of this papyrus, animal sacrifices continued to be offered uninterruptedly in the Yahwè temple at Elephantine. Up to this point there had been no trouble with the Egyptians. In fact, as we shall see, it is with this very communication of Hananyah's that the era of "trouble" begins.

Now a national Israelitish feast of Passover, as distinguished from the feast of Unleavened Bread, is unknown to both J and E. The word הַפֶּסַח in the so-called J Decalogue (Ex. 34 25) is a gloss: חַג הַפֶּסַח is impossible Hebrew, and the parallel passage in Ex. 23 18 shows that it is הַפֶּסַח which is interpolated, and not חַג, as maintained by Stade.<sup>12</sup> The injunction of Ex. 34 25 = 23 18 related to (the fat of) the sacrifice at any feast of Yahwè. The Passover is unknown

<sup>10</sup> Pesahim, 31.

<sup>11</sup> See Sachau Papyri 5 and 3; and compare Lidzbarski, *l.c.*, col. 2968.

<sup>12</sup> *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, p. 197.

also to E. Both these documents know only the feast of Unleavened Bread (Ex. 34 18, 23 15). I am not affirming that both or either of these authors had never heard of the Passover sacrifice, and that one or other of them may not have had it in mind in the story of the pretended "Feast of Yahwè" which the Children of Israel were to celebrate on coming out of Egypt, although there is less to support this view than is generally assumed. I am maintaining that neither of them incorporates it in his summary of the obligatory institutions common to all Israel in his own day. It need not have been such, any more than the vastly more important, and certainly annual, feast of Sheep-Shearing.

The earliest mention of the Passover in the Torah of Israel, and the earliest authentic occurrence of the word פסח in the literature of the Old Testament, is in the Deuteronomic law (Dt. 16).<sup>13</sup> Even thereafter, Ezekiel still makes no mention of it. For in Ez. 45 21 again, the word הפסח is a gloss, this time inserted against the grain, before the word חג, by some reader who thought the feast beginning on the fourteenth day of the first month must be פסח, though the writer himself had called it the Seven-Day Feast of מצות. In Ex. 12 18 the Priest Code makes Mazzoth begin on the evening of the fourteenth day.

The section on the Passover and Unleavened Bread in Dt. 16, where the two feasts are interwoven, is unquestionably conflate. It has been plausibly supposed (Steuernagel) that D had originally no feast of Unleavened Bread, but only Passover, besides the other two great feasts, and that the verses 3, 4, 8, which introduce the unleavened bread, are later expansions. However that may be, the narrative of Josiah's celebration in 2 Ki. 23 21-23 leaves no room for question (1) that D had the Passover as one of the three great annual feasts, whether or not combined with the eating of unleavened bread for seven days, and (2) that until the publication of the Deuteronomic law the Passover had not been recog-

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* <sup>6</sup>, p. 82.



nized as a great sanctuary festival in Israel, at any rate not since the occupation of Canaan.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of all this, however, we must not hasten to assign our papyrus to pre-Deuteronomic influences. For though D introduced the Passover sacrifice, which is absent from the papyrus, into the national law, it explicitly limited that sacrifice, as well as all others, to the one single sanctuary of Jerusalem (Dt. 16 5-6). And the priestly legislation and narrative take this limitation for granted. They certainly do not repudiate it.<sup>15</sup> So that there are other and sufficient reasons for omitting the Passover sacrifice from the celebration at Elephantine. To be sure, the Jews at Elephantine had a sanctuary of their own, at which they would have felt as free to sacrifice the Passover as any other animal offering. But our papyrus relates to a ritual which is being delivered to them, as we shall see, directly from abroad, and presumably from Palestine. It is not likely that the authorities at Jerusalem would be deliberately counseling the Jews of Elephantine to violate the law *by innovation*, although they might perhaps hesitate to interfere with a sacrificial cultus which had existed continuously for a hundred and seventy years.

On the other hand, that our papyrus comes from a source

<sup>14</sup> Such is the meaning of the Hebrew of verse 22: *For no such Pesah had been made during (not from) the days of the judges who judged Israel and during all the days of the kings of Israel and the kings of Judah.*

<sup>15</sup> On this point more or less confusion prevails. We are told that the priestly legislation (Ex. 12) restored the Passover sacrifice from the sanctuary, to which it had been limited by D, to the homes of the people. But the fact is, that though P relegated the institution of it to the pre-Sinaitic days when there was no sanctuary, he took especial pains to assert that for all time thereafter it was to be a sanctuary festival: *והנחתם אותו חג ליהודה לדורותיכם חקת שולם תחנהו* (Ex. 12 14). Contrast with this language the expression employed in connection with the observance of the law regarding Unleavened Bread (verse 17). Had P actually made of the Passover lamb a home-institution, it would to-day be sacrificed in every quarter of the globe. The Passover of later Judaism was a home-festival only in the sense that after the lamb had been offered in the temple, it was eaten in the dwellings of the people *in attendance at the feast in Jerusalem*, not in the sense that it could be slain wherever one happened to reside. And we have no reason to believe that P intended any more latitude than this.

familiar with the priestly legislation, is indisputable.<sup>16</sup> It prescribes only the feast of Unleavened Bread, but it is the feast of the priestly law, not that of J or of E, nor yet that of Deuteronomy in its present form. For, the determination of the precise days of the month, during which the seven days' feast shall be observed, appears only in H and P. J designates no more than "seven days in the month Abib." The same is true of E.<sup>17</sup> D, in its expanded form, likewise requires merely seven days in the month Abib. All these, of course, represent the earlier and freer practice, the precise time depending upon the forwardness of the crops, which would vary from year to year and in different localities in the same year. A new element, however, in the (expanded) Deuteronomic law, unknown to J and E, is the injunction to observe the last of the seven days as a holiday, during which no work may be performed. But even this is behind the requirements of the priestly law.

It is only with the Holiness Code (Lev. 23 5-8) that we come upon the fixed determination of the days of the month for the observance of the feast of Unleavened Bread. H appoints the Passover proper (פסח לילה) for the fourteenth day of the first month; it is, indeed, probable that the Passover had always been a full-moon ceremony. Thereafter, the feast of Unleavened Bread (חג המצות) is to begin on the fifteenth day and last seven days. Both the first and the seventh days are מקרא קדש, solemn assemblies, and on those days כל מלאכת עבודה לא תעשו, *ye shall do nothing involving labor*. H does not actually connect the observances of Pesah and Mazzoth—any more than do the modern Samaritans. A person who had only the Holiness Code before him (with, perhaps, D in its original form) could easily concern himself with the observance of the one, while avoiding any mention of the other.

P's law of the Passover is contained in Ex. 12 3-14, and that of Mazzoth in Ex. 12 15-20, the section immediately fol-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ed. Meyer, *l.c.*, p. 1052.

<sup>17</sup> The authenticity of even this indefinite seven-day requirement in the oldest codes has been questioned, but, I think, without reason.



lowing. But here the two are actually combined. Not only are מצות mentioned in verse 8, but verse 15, which begins the law of Mazzoth, contains no date. The date follows later incidentally, in verse 18: *from the fourteenth day of the month at sunset, to the twenty-first day of the month at sunset.*<sup>18</sup> In P, as in H, the first and seventh days of the feast are "solemn assemblies," on which no labor may be performed.

On the whole, it is seen, our papyrus has closer affinities with H than with any other of the codes of the Pentateuch. The actual mention of the fifteenth day is found only in H, although the law of P does not materially differ from it. Also, in H the feast of Mazzoth is still distinct from the rite of Passover; which would make it easy to avoid even the name of Pesah.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps, too, the language in which the papyrus prohibits labor is reminiscent of H: עבירה לא in the papyrus; כל מלאכה לא תעשו in H; כל מלאכה לא

<sup>18</sup> There is, by the way, no warrant for the statement sometimes made, and repeated by Eduard Meyer (*l.c.*, p. 1052, note 1), that Ex. 12 stretches the feast from seven days to eight. The "evening of the fourteenth day" is exactly when the fifteenth day begins, and the "evening of the twenty-first day" is in any case exactly seven whole days thereafter. There is, therefore, no reason for denying this verse to P, but quite the contrary.

<sup>19</sup> The occurrence of בפסחא on an ostrakon (Sachau, Plate 64, 2; previously published by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, pp. 229 ff.), to which Ed. Meyer refers (*l.c.*, p. 1051, note 3), would prove nothing as regards our papyrus, even if the context were perfectly clear; for the ostrakon is of unknown date and uncertain provenance.

On the other hand, the "Aramean Ostrakon from Elephantine," published by Sayce, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1911, pp. 183 f., which he finds "especially interesting on account of its reference to the Passover," has been wrongly deciphered and entirely misinterpreted by him. To begin with, he has attempted to read it wrong end foremost; his "obverse" and "reverse" should be transposed. The ostrakon is a letter from a rather illiterate husband to his wife, bidding her take good care of the children until he returns, assuring her that he will be responsible for any bills she may incur with the provision merchants for her maintenance, directing her what to do if unable to obtain supplies from them, promising to send her something, and charging her to be of good cheer and to be sure to tell him all about the baby. If, as Sayce affirms, the ostrakon "is in an unusually good state of preservation, every letter being legible on both obverse and reverse," he has published a singularly wretched photograph of the "obverse" side. But enough of it is legible to warrant the outline I have given, and to show that the ostrakon has no mention of the Passover.

יֵעֶשֶׂה בָּהֶם in P. Not much should be made of this point, however, as the Aramaic עֲבִידָה is the exact equivalent of Hebrew מִלֻּאֲכָה. On the other hand, though P alone alludes to ridding the houses of leaven, the custom may well be older than P. But the question as between H and P need not be pressed.

To sum up, then, we have seen that this papyrus shows an attempt to impose upon the Jews of Egypt the observance of the feast of Unleavened Bread, not in the old Israelitish form of J or E, or even of the expanded D, but in the form prescribed by the priestly legislation. It is distinctly the post-exilic Jewish observance which is here enjoined. Whether the Jews of Elephantine had retained the old Canaanitish institution in a looser form since the days of Psammetik II, a hundred and seventy years before, we cannot tell. Probably they had not.<sup>20</sup>

For the history of Old Testament literature it is to be noted that this papyrus affords the first conclusive evidence that the Holiness Code, at all events, had been composed before 419 B.C.<sup>21</sup>

One question remains, and that perhaps the most important; namely, as to the authority behind this promulgation of the feast of Unleavened Bread.

Sachau renders the third line of the papyrus, "Und nun in diesem Jahr, dem Jahr 5 des Königs Darius, ist von dem Könige an Arsames (die Botschaft) geschickt worden —," construing the passive participle שְׁלִיחַ as neuter and third person. He accordingly assumes that it is a Passover proclamation that has *been sent* from Darius to Arsames, and draws the consequent and far-reaching conclusions on the

<sup>20</sup> The tone of the Passover Papyrus seems to assume no knowledge of the institution on the part of the Jews of Elephantine. In this respect it is in marked contrast to the two letters concerning the feast of the Rededication of the Temple, addressed by the Jerusalem Jews to those of Egypt in the years 143 and 124 B.C., respectively, and preserved in the first chapters of 2 Maccabees. Compare Torrey, in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>21</sup> There is, by the way, quite decisive proof that the Darius of this text is Darius II; see below, p. 29.



relations of the Persian kings to the Jewish religion. Darius will have sent a special embassy to the governor of Egypt for the express purpose of proclaiming the Passover festival to his Jewish subjects in that country. If to Egypt, then of course to his other provinces as well. But since he will hardly have dispatched such a legation for the purpose every year, Sachau concludes that Darius had been prevailed upon by some "Nehemiah" of his entourage to proclaim, or perhaps to authorize, the observance of the Passover where formerly it had been neglected or prohibited.

Incidentally, it is of course felt that this construction of the papyrus gives renewed support to the authenticity of the documents and narratives in the book of Ezra, which have been so much discredited in recent years.

Eduard Meyer hastens to speak of our papyrus as a "Regierungserlass"; affirms, on the basis of this document, that the feast of the Passover was proclaimed by royal decree of Darius II in the year 419 B.C. for the Jews of the whole empire; and concludes that Hananyah, having brought the royal decree to Egypt, now, by direction of Arsames, transmits it to the Jews of Elephantine. He declares "die Echtheit der Urkunden des Ezrabuches durch die neuen Funde in jedem Worte erwiesen." Further, "Aufs neue zeigt sich drastisch, dass das Judentum eine Schöpfung des Perserreichs ist: die babylonischen Juden haben eben die Autorität der Regierung in Bewegung gesetzt und durch sie das von Ezra verfasste Gesetz den Juden in Palästina und der Diaspora auferlegt." And he closes his discussion with the triumphant words, "Eine glänzendere Bestätigung und Ergänzung hätte die Darstellung im Buche Ezra-Nehemiah und die auf dieselbe begründete historische Anschauung nicht erhalten können, als sie dieser Osterbrief vom Jahre 419 v. Chr. gebracht hat."<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand, Lidzbarski is not so certain of the royal meddling with the religious concerns of the Jews. He thinks that the official part of the document was limited to a royal ordinance for the New Year — whatever that may be

<sup>22</sup> *L.c.*, pp. 1035, 1052 f.

—and that the details concerning the observance of the Passover were Hananyah's personal contribution. But as this latter involved absence from military duty during the seven days of the feast,<sup>23</sup> the government may have concerned itself with that aspect of the matter.

Now, in point of fact, we have neither the need nor the right to beat about the bush in this fashion. Either Eduard Meyer is entirely right, or he is entirely wrong. Either the Persian government had everything to do with the Passover celebration of our papyrus, or it had nothing whatever to do with it. The whole imposing edifice of Eduard Meyer's representation rests, like an inverted pyramid, upon the single point of the intended reference of the one word שלִיחַ in line 3 of the papyrus. If the papyrus had come down to us unharmed, we should have had in the six or seven words now lost, which followed the phrase מִן מַלְכָּא שְׁלִיחַ עַל אֲרֶשֶׁם, at the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4, a complete answer to the question. Lacking those words, we must determine the reference indirectly as best we may. But that should not allow us to confuse the issue. Either the word שְׁלִיחַ refers to Hananyah himself, or it refers to the subject matter of his letter, the observance of the Passover. It cannot, as a matter of mere syntax, have referred to both. If it referred to Hananyah, there remains nothing in the papyrus to connect the Passover with the official mission of Hananyah. If it referred to the ordinance of the Passover, there remains nothing in the papyrus to connect Hananyah with a special royal mission on any subject. And as regards Lidzbarski's halting conclusions, if the subject matter of the papyrus, all of which relates to the details of the Passover observance, was not the subject of שְׁלִיחַ in the introductory sentence at line 3, we have no reason in the world for assuming another

<sup>23</sup> Lidzbarski's view that the papyrus directed the Jews of Elephantine to abstain from work during the entire seven days of the feast (*l.c.*, col. 2970), necessitating military leave of absence from the Persian authorities for that length of time, has no warrant either in the text of the papyrus or in the usage of Judaism from the earliest times to the present day. Moreover, it is difficult to see how the military duties of the Jews of Elephantine can have been so very strenuous in ordinary times.



neuter subject outside the existing contents of the papyrus, when the latter actually supplies us with Hananyah himself as the alternative.

On the purely linguistic merits of the two alternatives there is this to be said : שליח, though it might be used of a *dispatch*, would not be used of a royal *command*, *decree*, or *proclamation*. The substance of a royal ordinance concerning the Passover would certainly have been introduced with the words מן מלכא שים טעם, and not with מן מלכא שליח על. On the other hand, compare the technical language of the pretended rescript of Artaxerxes to Ezra in Ezr. 7 14-17, where the king says, "תקנא . . . שליח . . . מן מלכא שליח", *being delegated by the King . . . thou shalt buy*, etc. And later, the Aramaic of *Apostle*, whether Christian or Jewish, is שליחא.<sup>24</sup>

Now it can be shown from the contents of another papyrus, which Sachau did not decipher and interpret correctly, (1) that Hananyah was a Jew occupying a high official position in the government of Egypt; (2) that he was not Egyptian-born, but had only recently come into the country; and (3) that his activities immediately upon his arrival resulted in straining the relations of the Jews of Elephantine with their Egyptian neighbors to the point of serious trouble for a considerable period, before the destruction of their temple in the year 410 B.C.

In view of these facts, we have, I think, no course open to us but to interpret the word שליח, in line 3 of the Passover Papyrus, of Hananyah himself. *It was not a Passover proclamation, but Hananyah himself who was sent from Darius to Arsames, on some matter of state of which we have no further information.* And in this letter of his, written to the Jews of Elephantine soon after his arrival in Egypt, before proceeding with his directions for the observance of the national feast, he naturally tells them *who he is, and by what authority he speaks*: he is special ambassador from Darius II to Arsames, Persian governor of Egypt; and he speaks by the

<sup>24</sup> Because its context is as yet too obscure, I disregard the sentence ונא שליח עליהם על ונא, apparently, *and another person who was dispatched by me (Arsames) to them on this matter* (Sachau Papyrus 8, line 6).

authority — of course, *of the priests in Jerusalem, whom he had visited on his way*. It is difficult to see how any other supposition can be entertained while this one is open.

But this is not a mere supposition. The six or seven lost words between the end of line 3 and the middle of line 4 contained a statement regarding the visit to Jerusalem, with the verb in the first person singular of the perfect tense. Only so is the particular form of the date in the letter explainable or intelligible: שְׁנָתָא זָא שְׁנַת ִּוּוּ || רַרְיִדְוּשׁ. *This year, the fifth year of Darius the King, I was sent or there was sent*, is not a natural expression. For an instantaneous act of that kind, we naturally demand either more circumstance or less. The Jews of Elephantine knew as well as Hananyah what year of Darius II they were then living in. If that were the burden of his statement, *this year* would have been sufficient, unless he went on to give the time of the year as well. Still less satisfactory, though syntactically more sound, is Lidzbarski's interpretation, *This year is the fifth year of Darius*;<sup>25</sup> but it is interesting as showing that at least one accomplished scholar feels there is something decidedly queer about the expression if interpreted as above. On the other hand, *This year, the fifth year of Darius the King, being sent from the King to Arsames, I visited the city of Jerusalem* (or something of that sort), is a perfectly natural sentence. The time of a sojourn in Jerusalem could very well be dated by the year alone. In other words, שְׁנָתָא זָא requires for its grammatical complement a finite verb of the purport I have assumed.

According to this interpretation, Hananyah, having been sent on a mission from Darius II to Arsames, traveled to Egypt by way of Palestine, and stopped over in Jerusalem in the 5th year of Darius II, receiving there the latest priestly

<sup>25</sup> *L.c.*, col. 2969. Lidzbarski accordingly assumes that Hananyah's letter is being written on the first day of the first month of the new year. But apart from the fact that the Jews of Elephantine seem to have managed to date their documents accurately enough without receiving information on the state of the calendar from the capital of the satrapy, Hananyah must have expected his letter to be received before the first day of Nisan, when he directed his readers to "count fourteen days."



regulations regarding the feast of Unleavened Bread, and doubtless much else besides. He arrived in Egypt during the same year, probably toward the end of it, and took the first occasion to enjoin upon his coreligionists at Elephantine the proper observance of the feast, in accordance with the Jerusalem law, in time for the celebration of the first month of the 6th year of Darius II (began April 15, 418 B.C.). Strictly speaking, then, the Passover Papyrus will have been written in that fraction of the 5th year of Darius II which fell in the year 418 B.C. (January to April 14).

Before passing on to the contents of the other papyrus to which reference has been made, it is to be noted that in this Passover letter Hananyah does not speak of himself as עֲבֶדְךָ or עֲבֶדְכֶם, the form employed in addressing Yedonyah even by one of the latter's most prominent associates at the head of the community in Elephantine, but אָחִיכֶם, *your brother*. Hananyah, it is evident even from Papyrus 6, is at least the equal of Yedonyah, and almost certainly his superior, in station.

We turn now to the text of Sachau Papyrus 11. I have succeeded in piecing out all the important lacunæ, with a result which differs considerably from the tentative and fragmentary translation published by Sachau. Sachau supposed this document to be a letter of warning against two men who were about to visit Elephantine. It is, on the contrary, a strong letter of recommendation.

In order to make evident at a glance my construction and interpretation of the Aramaic text, I vocalize after the analogy of the Biblical Aramaic, from which, except for the latter's mutations of vowel-quality and excess of Masoretic refinement, the pronunciation of these Egyptian Jews of the fifth century B.C. will not have differed materially. As before, suppletory letters are bracketed, and seriously mutilated ones overlined.

## TEXT OF PAPYRUS 11

- 1 אֵל מֶלֶךְ יִהְיֶה אֲדֹנָי וְנִהְיֶה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ בְּרַ יִשְׁכְּנֵנוּ וְנִהְיֶה בְּרַ יִשְׁכְּנֵנוּ . 1 word .
- 2 עֲבֹדֵי מִצְוֹתָ : שְׁלֹם מֶלֶךְ אֵי . . . . . about 5 words . . . . . לְהִתְחַנֵּן הָיוּ קִלְמִים
- 3 אֱלֹהֵי שְׁמֵי : פִּכְעֵת בְּיוֹ יִהְיֶה רַב הִילָא מִלָּא לֹאבוֹס אֲסֵרִי עֲלֵיכֶם אֲבִינָהּ וְיִ
- 4 הַשְׁפִּחוּ נִזְכִּי בְּרַ לְבָלִיָּא : עַל אֲחֵרִי בִּהְיֵה וְחֹר עֲלֵימִי עֲלֵי אֲשִׁמְכֶרִי עִם יִהְיֶה
- 5 וְחִרְטוֹפִי בְּעֵלֶל אֱלֹהֵי שְׁמֵי עַד שׁוֹבוֹנִי : כִּפֵּן הָא אֲחֵרִי מִלָּא עֲלֵיכֶם : אֲנִימִם הָיוּ עֲלֵיהֶם
- 6 מִה אֲבוֹ : פִּכְעֵת וְיִ בִּהְיֵה מִנְכֶם אֲנִימִם קָמוּ קִבְּלָהֶם בִּן בְּרַ מִלָּא כֹא יִשְׁכְּנֵנוּ
- 7 לֹא יִהְשָׁכְנוּ לָכֶם : לָכֶם יִסְרָא וְיִ הַנִּימִם הִי עֲלֵי בִן וְיִ הַנִּימִם בִּמְצֵרֵנוּ עַד כִּפֵּן :
- 8 פִּכְחֵ וְיִ הַנִּימִם לְחֹר לְ[פִשְׁ] כֶּם עֲבֹדִי [אֲנִי] לָכֶם : חֹר עֲלֵימִם הַנִּימִם : אֲנִימִם וְעַלִּי בִן פִּכְנו
- 9 נִכְבֵּן לְקִבְּלֵ וְיִ יִסְרָא : מִה מִסְרָא יִמָּח וְיִ לֹא מִסְרָא חֹר עֲלֵיכֶם : בְּרַ שְׁלֹחַ אֲנִי עֲלֵיכֶם הִי
- 10 אֲמֵר לִי שְׁלֹחַ אֲדֹנָי בְּרַ מִסְרָא : [חֹר] לִי מִסְרָא שִׁיחַ שְׁמֵי אֲחֵרֵי בִּהְיֵה עֲלֵי : וְיִ הַנִּימִם
- 11 לֹא לֹא יִהְשָׁכְנוּ מִן עֲנִי :
- 12 אֵל מֶלֶךְ יִהְיֶה אֲדֹנָי וְנִהְיֶה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ



## TRANSLATION

- 1 To my lords Yedonyah, Uriyah, and the priests of the God Yahu, Mattan bar Yoshibyah and Neriyaḥ bar  
 2 Thy servant Ma'uziyah: The welfare of my lords . . . [about 5 words] . . . Be ye favored before  
 3 the God of Heaven. For the rest: When Waidrang, the chief of the garrison, came to Abôt, he put me in prison  
 4 they found had been stolen by the traders. At last Seha and Hor, acquaintances of 'Anani, exerted themselves  
 5 and Hornufi, under the protection of the God of Heaven, until they delivered me. Now behold, they are about  
 6 whatever their business may be. And whatever thing Seha or Hor may require of you, do you meet them in  
 7 they may not find in you. You know the affliction which, for no reason at all, has rested upon us since Hananyah  
 8 Whatever you do for Hor, you will be doing for your own selves. Hor is acquainted with Hananyah. Do you  
 9 any goods that are at hand; whether we lose or whether we do not lose, never mind. This is why I am sending  
 10 said to me, Send a letter ahead of us. Even if we should lose, a credit will be established because of him in the  
 11 for him will not be hidden from 'Anani. house of 'Anani. What you do  
 [Docket:] To my lords Yedonyah, Uriyah, and the priests, and the Jews.

Line 1. כהניא. The names which follow, Mattan bar Yoshibyah and Neriyah, are those of the priests. There were accordingly but two priests attached to the Yahwè temple at Elephantine.

יה of the papyri should be pronounced *Yáhu*, not *Yaho*, as Sachau and others. *Yaho* cannot be derived from *Yahwè*. The alternative of *Yáhu* is not *Yaho*, but *Yô*. The *Yeho*- of Masoretic proper names is fictitious, the *o*-vowel having been reached only after the elision of the ה in compounds: *yahu*—*yau*—*yo* spelled *y(h)o*. So the name Jonathan in the living language was *Yahunatan*, *Yaunatan*, or *Yônatan* (יֹנָתָן), but never *Yehonatan* (יְהוֹנָתָן). Nor, on the other hand, should we allow ourselves to be misled by the Masoretic pronunciation of such Lamed-He forms as יהוה, for this was of course pronounced *hwaw* by the Jews of Elephantine. Finally, Sachau's supposition (p. 10) that יהוה of the Mesha stone may be intended for יהוה is entirely inadmissible; in the Mesha stone the ה is necessarily consonantal.

Line 2. עבדך. The singular suffix, if not a slip, probably has in mind Yedonyah alone, in spite of the plural address of the letter; for the others are not Ma'uziyah's superiors, as we shall see.

מעוזיה. On the identity of the writer see below, pp. 27 ff.

Line 3. פ in פכעת is the Arabic *fa*; it occurs again in lines 6 and 8, and in Sachau Papyrus 12 (not indexed); also in the Zenjirli, Nabatean, and Palmyrene inscriptions.

וידרננ, the commander of the garrison at Elephantine, effects the arrest at Abydos not necessarily because his military jurisdiction extended to that city, but probably because Ma'uziyah, as a member of the "army of occupation," was not subject to the criminal jurisdiction of the local magistracy. —It would be well if in our ignorance of the correct pronunciation of the name וידרננ, the euphonious *Waidrang* could be conventionally adhered to.

עלדבר אבנצרה, not "wegen eines Edelsteins, eines einzigen," as Sachau; the text is merely shorthand for אבנצרה חר; cf. איש חר a certain man, Sachau Papyrus 62, obv., col. 2, line 6.



Line 4. **השכחו גניב ביד רכליא**. Sachau: "den man gefunden hat als gestohlen (gestohlenes Gut) in der Hand (im Besitz) von Kaufleuten." If that were the meaning, **ביד רכליא** would follow **השכחו**. Besides, if the stone was actually recovered from the merchants, the officials would have had little difficulty in tracing the thief. **רכליא** are not the local shopkeepers, but the visiting traders, to which class Ma'uziyah belonged. The stone may well have been purloined while being exhibited, together with other jewels, to a company of such traders, without leaving any trace of the individual thief. On **גניב**, passive participle with the force of the pluperfect, cf. Nöldeke, § 278 B. For **ביד** of the agent cf. Syriac **ܒܝܕ**.

**על אחרן**. Sachau can make nothing of this. The phrase occurs also in Sachau Papyrus 52, col. 1, line 5: **על אחרן יזכרני**, *at last he will remember me*; and col. 2, line 1: **עד זי על** **אחרן** *until at last*. Lidzbarski (*l.c.*, col. 2978) renders it correctly enough *schliesslich*, but would read **על אחרן** in all three passages. The letter **ח**, however, is perfectly distinct and unmistakable in every case. The fact is, we have here the phrase which has hitherto baffled the efforts and ingenuity of the commentators on the Aramaic text of Dan. 4 5. The spelling **אחרין** of Dan. 4 5 proves, if any proof were needed, that the word has nothing to do with **אחרן** *another*; the transmitters could never have inserted that **י**, for the Kethib is at cross purposes with the Masoretic tradition, which could make nothing of it, and with the Qeri, which demands the spelling **אחרן**. On the other hand, the uniform spelling of the papyri, **על אחרן**, proves that the pointings suggested for Dan. 4 5 by Marti (*Bibl.-aram. Grammatik*, §§ 87e, 94b), **אחרין** or **אחרין**, as adverb in the one case and singular noun in the other, are alike impossible, for either form would be spelled **אחרין** in the papyri. For other counsels of despair, see the commentaries of Bevan and Kraetzschmar. We must accordingly point in harmony with both the Kethib of Dan. 4 5 and the spelling of the papyri, **אחרין**, absolute plural corresponding to the construct **אחר** *after*,

and meaning (in the plural) *the end*;<sup>26</sup> compare the Hebrew אַחֲרֵי הַחֵנִית (2 Sam. 2 23), which is not *the hinder end of the spear*, but merely *the end of the spear*, a rhetorical expression analogous to פִּי הָרֶבֶךְ *the mouth (edge) of the sword*. In Dan. 4 5 accordingly we must read וְעַל אַחֲרָיו *and at last*; the עַל was corrupted to עַד as a consequence of the erroneous interpretation "until another."

עֲלִימִי acquainted with, passive participle with reciprocal sense, cf. Nöldeke, § 280; not *servants of 'Anani*, as Sachau, which is impossible in this context. Seha and Hor are quite too important and influential to be anybody's "boys." Besides, the ordinary interpretation cannot be reconciled with line 8, where Hor is described as the עֲלִים of Hananyah. Sachau concludes that two different persons of the name Hor are mentioned in the papyrus. But even that bold remedy does not meet the substantial objection first mentioned. We must connect with עֲלִמָּה to know, not with עֲלִימָא, *youth, servant*. Cf. Hebrew יָדוּעַ, and the expression רַחִים רַחִים *pious*, Sachau Papyrus 55, line 5 (Sachau transcribes erroneously רַחִימָן).

עֲנִי is without doubt the 'Anani alluded to in line 19 of the petition to Bagoas, Sachau Papyrus 1, where Ostanēs is singled out for special mention among the nobles of Jerusalem to whom previous appeals had been directed: "Ostanēs, the brother of 'Anani" can only mean that the writers are acquainted with 'Anani in Egypt and are not acquainted with Ostanēs in Jerusalem. Very probably also, this 'Anani is identical with the official scribe or secretary of the chancellerie of Arsames, whom we meet in an original decree of the governor which has come down to us, Sachau Papyrus 8. This document is signed first in the hand which engrossed the body of it: עֲנִי סֹפֵר *'Anani the Scribe*; then follows in the same elegant hand the title בַּעַל טַעַם *Master of decrees*,

<sup>26</sup> This use of the indeterminate plural in an abstract sense, with a value approaching that of our determinate singular, which occurs in the case of the Aramaic אֱלֹהִים as in that of the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים, has not received sufficient recognition. In English I may say, "Grapes are a delicious fruit," or, "The grape is a delicious fruit"; but I may not say, "The grapes are a delicious fruit."



or *Chancellor*, introducing the signature of this last official, which was appended in another hand: כתב נבועקב *Nebo'aqab has signed*. So, against Sachau, pp. 48 f., and Ed. Meyer, *l.c.*, p 1036; compare כתב מחסיה בר י' [דניה] נפשה, *Mahseyah bar Yedonyah has signed in person*, written in a handwriting distinct from that of the notary, Sayce-Cowley E, lines 17 f. The word ספרא which follows נבועקב in the fragment of the docket of Papyrus 8, has been robbed of its context, and may, for all we know, be *document*, and not *scribe*. The בעל טעם was, as in Ezra 4, the higher official of the two, and in this case an Aramean. Incidentally, this document shows us what the Passover Papyrus would have looked like, had it been even remotely connected with a royal rescript. Not merely would it have been officially countersigned, but the names of the superscription would be reversed, and the papyrus would begin מן חנניה על ידניה, if not indeed מן ארשם על ידניה, in the name of the governor. — For the rest, there is nothing in our Papyrus 11 to indicate that 'Anani was himself a resident of Abydos, where Ma'uziyah's misadventure occurred; on the contrary, had 'Anani been at Abydos, the services of Seha and Hor would not have been required.

Line 5. חרנופי was either the local Egyptian magistrate at Abydos or the plaintiff in the case.

חזו עליהם, not *be on your guard against them*, as Sachau; the expression occurs in the sense of solicitous attention in Sachau Papyrus 13, line 6: חזו על עלימא וביתי כז תעבר לביתך *care for the young people and my house as thou wouldst do for thine own house*; also in the ostrakon published by Sayce, mentioned above, p. 13, note 19: חזו על ינקא עד נאתה, *care for the children until we come*.

Line 6. חור was omitted at first, and later written in over the line; hence יבעה in the singular.

קמו קבלהם כן *let your attitude to them be such*; כן *so*, modifying קמו.

Line 7. Second לכם, literally *you have = there is*. I have rendered *you know*.

יסרא, *punishment*. The reading of this word, which

Sachau gives up altogether, is quite certain; the only letter that is very seriously mutilated is the ך. Point after Marti, § 82, note 2.

חנים, Hebraism = חנם of the Old Testament; adverb, *gratuitously*. For the form חנים as a possible alternative of חנם compare Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 88 c. Sachau suggests the god-name Hnum = Hnub, the Egyptian god of Elephantine; but (1) the third letter, though mutilated, is distinctly a ך and not a ך, and (2) a proper name is out of place before the enclitic which follows.

הו, enclitic emphasizing the preceding word; see Nöldeke, § 221.

Line 8. לחור. The writer appears to have started by writing לחנ (for Hananyah), and then corrected to לחור.

לנפשכם עכר. The ך in both words is unmistakable, though Sachau omits the one and reads the other ך; I think there can be no question as to the letters I have supplied.

עלים. See above on line 4.

ולו. The Pe'al is *to be cheap*. The context requires the Pa'il; cf. the Aph'el, "billig verkaufen" (Dalman).

בתן. The suffix refers to writer and readers combined; Ma'uziyah's goods at Elephantine are included.

Line 9. מה חסרנא, literally, *what we may have lost or what we may not have lost, be alike to you*. Sachau transcribes מה חסרן ומה וי לא חסרן. The characters between the first מה and לא are mutilated or blurred, but enough of them is visible to make certain that the papyrus had no וי in the first clause and that a letter followed the ך of the first חסרן. In any case, the word cannot be the plural participle, referring to Seha and Hor, as Sachau and Lidzbarski (*l.c.*, col. 2980). The form and reference must be the same as in line 10, where חסרן cannot be construed as the participle or as referring to the visitors, only one of whom is there being spoken of; note the suffixes in אחרוהי (line 10), לה (line 11). On the idiom and the tense, cf. Nöldeke, § 258, and מה צבו in line 6 above.

Line 10. הן לו occurs Sachau Papyrus 53, line 3. On its use with the perfect in hypothetical sentences, cf. Nöldeke, §§ 259, 375.



שימא. The א (for ה?) was omitted at the first writing, and inserted above the line.

שים. On the use of the participle for future time in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, see Nöldeke, § 271. שימא שים, literally, *a treasure will be laid up*. I take this to be intended figuratively: "Anani will be put under obligation to us." Compare the Syriac versions of Matth. 6 19-20, where identically the same language is employed! Evidently the Syriac reproduced the original Aramaic logion of Jesus, and that in turn played upon an old Aramaic metaphor.

אחריו, *after him*, that is, *after his visit*.

עני בבית עני must not be taken too literally; בבית = *apud* — *chez* 'Anani.

Ma'uziyah, the author of the above letter, was one of the most prosperous and well-educated members of the Jewish community at Elephantine, and second in importance only to Yedonyah. When he wrote, he was temporarily absent from home, at Abydos. This appears by comparing his letter, addressed to Yedonyah and Uriyah as the chief laymen in the community, with Sachau Papyrus 10, where a Jew in difficulties elsewhere appeals for aid to the Jews of Elephantine and addresses his appeal to "Yedonyah, Ma'uziyah, Uriyah, and the garrison."

Again, this Ma'uziyah appears in Sachau Papyrus 5 as one of the five prominent Jews dispatching an official petition (perhaps to the Persian governor in Egypt, before appealing to outsiders) for permission to rebuild the temple which has been destroyed. The petition must therefore be dated after 410 B.C., though probably before 407. The five men indicting it are: Yedonyah bar Gem(aryah), Ma'uzi bar Natan, Shema'yah bar Haggai, Hoshe' bar Yatom, and Hoshe' bar Natun. This Ma'uzi, second again to Yedonyah, is certainly identical with our Ma'uziyah, and here his surname is given as *bar Natan*.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> In Sachau's transcription of Papyrus 11, Ma'uziyah's letter to Yedonyah, there appears a memorandum scribbled by the recipients on the outside of the papyrus, which Sachau reads מעודה בר צחא . . . וי. The reading of the last word alone is indicated as uncertain. Unfortunately, hardly a trace of

Now we have several documents from Elephantine professedly written by the hand of this same Ma'uziyah bar Natan:

(a) Sayce-Cowley H, an act of release dated in the 4th year of Darius (420/419 B.C.), and written by the hand of Ma'uziyah bar Natan, as notary.

(b) Sayce-Cowley J, a quit-claim deed dated in the 8th year of Darius (416/415 B.C.), and written by the hand of Ma'uziyah bar Natan, as notary.

(c) Sachau Papyrus 34, a deed of gift of which the date has been lost, but in which the notary's name is given with even more precision as *Ma'uziyah bar Natan bar 'Ananyah*.<sup>28</sup>

Papyrus 11, Ma'uziyah's letter from Abydos, which is in the same handwriting as that of the three documents just mentioned, was written some time after 419 B.C. (when Hananyah came to Egypt), but before 410 B.C. (when the temple was destroyed), and while Hananyah was still in the country. Note the formal mention of the priests of the temple in the address. Besides, it is not likely that that outrage would have been committed while Hananyah was in Egypt. He doubtless returned to the king long before 410 B.C. The letter should therefore be placed some three or four years after 419 B.C.

Still other papyri in these finds introduce us to the father of our Ma'uziyah on the one hand, and to his children on the other.

In Sayce-Cowley C and D, two deeds of the 6th year of Artaxerxes (459/458 B.C.), Ma'uziyah's father, Natan bar 'Anani, appears as a witness. In Sachau Papyrus 28, a

this legend can be discerned in the photographic reproduction. But I have no hesitation in affirming that an indorsement of this sort would not have set forth Ma'uziyah's surname, and that what was set down was *כתיב י"ו כתיב* or *י"ו כתיב*, *Ma'uziyah's letter about Seha*.

<sup>28</sup> Sachau calls attention to the similarity of the handwriting in this papyrus to that of the mutilated, but originally superior, second copy of the petition to Bagoas (Papyrus 2), and concludes that they belong to the same period. They do, as a matter of fact, belong to the same period, but it is the *kalam*s that are similar, not the handwritings. Papyrus 2 was very probably written by the hand which penned the memorandum Papyrus 3, in which case it will be the personal copy of the emissary of the Jews of Elephantine to Bagoas.



document of the 9th year of Artaxerxes (456/455 B.C.), Natan bar 'Anani is the notary, as also in Sayce-Cowley E, of the 19th year of Artaxerxes (446/445 B.C.), and still again in Sayce-Cowley G, of the 25th year of Artaxerxes (440/439 B.C.).

The sequence yielded by these documents—the father, Natan bar 'Anani, appearing as an adult witness in the 6th year of Artaxerxes, and the son, Ma'uziyah bar Natan bar 'Anani, acting as one of the leaders of the community after the 14th year of Darius—affords us more direct evidence than any which has thus far been adduced, that the Darius of the days of Yedonyah bar Gemaryah and of the Elephantine temple outrage was Darius II.

On the other hand, in the list of subscribers to the fund collected for the God Yahu (Sachau Papyrus 18), we find a brother of Ma'uziyah, Ahyo bar Natan bar 'Anani, and one of his sons, 'Anani bar Ma'uzi, with perhaps another, Meshullam bar Ma'uzi. Under the circumstances it is permissible to assume that this list, which is dated 5th year, but without the name of any king, is to be assigned to the 5th year after the expulsion of the Persians, which occurred about 404 B.C. Perhaps no king is mentioned because Amyrtæus had not yet succeeded in establishing himself firmly upon the throne of the Pharaohs. In that case, this great collection may well represent the money employed for the rebuilding of the temple of Yahwè, some seven or eight years after the petition to Bagoas.

Finally, a Natan bar Ma'uziyah, who appears in an undated papyrus (Sachau 20), is certainly the son of our Ma'uziyah bar Natan.

I have called attention to the demonstrable prosperity, education, and importance of this Ma'uziyah bar Natan, because of the deferential, almost obsequious tone in which his letter to Yedonyah refers to the person of Hananyah. It is clear that the latter was one to whose favor both he and Yedonyah earnestly aspired. And though they recognized him as the cause, or at least the occasion of their embarrassment, there was no thought of resentment or oppo-

sition, but only of continued compliance with his will and ministering to his good pleasure. I think I detect a slight difference of attitude even from that exhibited toward 'Anani, the secretary of the Persian government. From 'Anani, Ma'uziyah expects a *quid pro quo* of a commercial kind; he will return their favors in due season. Of Hananyah nothing so definite seems to be expected. It is the bare favor of an exalted personage that is involved, one who can easily do harm if he will. Moreover, Hananyah is "in Egypt" — obviously at the seat of government, and a national figure. And, as already pointed out, he is a foreign Jew, who has but recently come into the country. It can no longer be disputed that the interpretation I gave of line 3 of the Passover Papyrus is correct. It was Hananyah himself who was *sent* from Darius to Arsames, and the Passover was his private concern.

One is tempted to speculate as to the character of the tantalizing "difficulty" which Hananyah's presence in Egypt had brought upon his coreligionists at Elephantine. Clearly it was of a kind that adverse reports by Seha and Hor concerning them might help to augment. Did Hananyah bring with him a religious exclusiveness and Levitical zeal which interfered with their traditional worship, disturbed the even tenor of their pagan ways, and put an end for the time being to their cordial relations with their neighbors? Did he find them Judeans, and try to make them Jews?

Sachau has called attention to the identity in name of this Persian official and the brother of Nehemiah, Hanani = Hananyah, upon whose moving report of conditions in Jerusalem, Nehemiah was impelled to undertake his work of restoration. Hananyah was not an uncommon name, to be sure. But Jews occupying exalted positions at the Persian court cannot have been so very numerous at any time; and such Jews bearing the name of Hananyah were doubtless fewer still. It is not at all unlikely that the Egyptian papyri have introduced us once more to the brother of Nehemiah. If this be the same man, the date of Nehemiah is settled beyond all controversy, as of Artaxerxes I, not II. For we

can well suppose that Hananyah had traveled from Jerusalem to Susa, when a very young man at the Persian court, twenty-five years before he was appointed ambassador to Arsames; whereas it is well-nigh impossible to assume that he did so thirty-six years after he had attained to that dignity, and found his brother Nehemiah in the prime of life.

In any event, we have as little reason for connecting Darius II with the religious motives of Hananyah, as we have for identifying Artaxerxes with those of Nehemiah. And the Passover Papyrus gives us a picture, not of the Persian Empire espousing the cause of Yahwè and busying itself with the details of "Ezra's" ceremonial law, but of the new-born Judaism in Jerusalem reaching out to reform and to control the half-heathen Judeans of the Diaspora.

In conclusion, I venture to add a few words regarding the view which has been energetically revived since the discovery of the Elephantine papyri, and recently defended by Torrey,<sup>29</sup> to the effect that Judaism offered, on principle, no opposition to the establishment of sacrificial temples *ad libitum* outside of Palestine. Against that view it must be urged that not only do we actually know of but one such temple in the days when Judaism had come into its own, but the form of the Mishnic reference<sup>30</sup> to the temple of Leontopolis clearly shows that the latter was in fact the only one in existence in those days. The evidence of the well-informed priest Josephus is distinctly to the same effect, and incidentally contradicts the above-mentioned hypothesis as to the general attitude of Judaism on the theoretical question. Josephus manifestly had never heard of the "foreign soil" justification of the temple of Onias; which makes it hard to believe that it was anywhere entertained. In the next place, it must be remembered that the establishment of that single foreign temple was due not to religious necessities, but, like that of the Samaritans, to personal ambition, or at all events to personal vicissitudes. Circumstances rendered it innocuous to

<sup>29</sup> *Ezra Studies*, pp. 315 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Menahoth*, 13 10.



the centralizing spirit of Judaism, and it was first tolerated and then grudgingly recognized. This much it owed to the accident of its location outside of Palestine — and outside of Alexandria. A richly endowed Aaronic monastery rather than a rival metropolitan see, it was not forced, in self-defense, to question the primacy or the legitimacy of the parent sanctuary at Jerusalem. But all this lies aside from the main point, which is, that the developed Jewish system, in contrast to the pre-Deuteronomic religion — which latter we must not make the mistake of supposing ceased to exist after 621 B.C. — had no need of more than one temple, any more than it had need of more than one tabernacle. It was not the accessibility or the location of the sanctuary, but the unity of the “congregation” and the vicariousness of the ritual that constituted the characteristic note of the priestly law. And if, as Wilrich maintains,<sup>81</sup> the temple of Onias was founded by an émigré High Priest at a time when Jerusalem was in the hands of the heathen and inaccessible, the act was more at variance with the somewhat antiquated burden of Deuteronomy than with the spirit of the Levitical law. In any case, it is impossible to imagine a temple being founded outside of Palestine under the auspices and with the approval of the Jerusalem priesthood, merely to meet the religious needs of the Diaspora.

On the other hand, there may well have been other Yahwè temples besides that of Elephantine, founded by the earliest emigrants from Judea, which were *survivals of pre-Deuteronomic Yahwism*. These the Jews of Jerusalem will have countenanced in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., for much the same reasons that led their successors to countenance the temple of Leontopolis. It was a choice between easy, almost insensible compromise and irreparable schism. Such temples were theoretically illegitimate, but the question of their legitimacy was never a pressing one. What is more important, they were fundamentally incompatible and practically superfluous. It was not necessary to strangle them; they died a

<sup>81</sup> *Juden und Griechen*, pp. 126 ff.

natural death with the spread of the new Judaism, the Synagogue, and the Mosaic law. When once the earliest settlers in Egypt learned to believe that the sacrifices at Jerusalem availed for all Palestine, they were quite content to have them avail for all Egypt too, and taxed themselves accordingly. The temple of Leontopolis remains an accident. And if there were any other sacrificial cults of Yahwè in out of the way corners of the earth at the beginning of the Christian era, they certainly lacked the "Aaronic" priesthood and were distinctly irregular. The ceremonial law of Judaism paradoxically carried with it the death sentence of sacrifice as an essential of Jewish religious life.

## Beelzebul

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THE name Beelzebul, as is well known, occurs in the Synoptic Gospels, and is there applied to the chief of the demons. In the following pages its meaning will be discussed and its use. First, the question of the correct form of the word will be considered, and the contexts in which the name occurs examined. Then I propose to show that in New Testament times the word *zebul* was used specifically of heaven, and that, inasmuch as in each of the important non-Jewish religions of the period one god held a preëminent place, and he a sky-god, and a foreign god was considered by the Jews to be a demon, the name Beelzebul—*i.e.* Lord of Heaven—was properly applied to the chief of the demons.

The word Beelzebul, with variants, is found in Mt. 10 25 12 24. 27, Mk. 3 22, Lk. 11 15. 18. 19. Our first concern is to satisfy ourselves about the actual form of the word. The evidence<sup>1</sup> that I submit will show that the reading *βεελζεβούλ* is supported by the most important witnesses, and that the deviations from that reading are entirely explicable.

The Greek Mss. almost without exception read *βεελζεβούλ*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 1869; Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, 1889 ff.; Pusey and Gwilliam, *Tetraevangelium . . . simplex syrorum versionem*, 1901; Lewis, *Old Syriac Gospels*, 1910; Ciasca, *De Tatiani Diatessaron Arabice Versione*, 1883; Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis*, 1868; Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 1904; Robinson, "Ephraim's Citations from the Diatessaron," in J. H. Hill's *Earliest Life of Christ*, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> A few read *βελζεβούλ*; B 8 (except Mk. 3 22) *βεελζεβούλ*. These variants are not important for our purpose; with the latter might be compared *beizebul* in *g*<sup>1</sup> and בעמלקרת (Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, no. 54, l. 1 f.), בעשמם (*Corpus Inscript. Sem.*, i. 1. 139, 1), [ב]עחנא (*CIS*, i. 2. 869, 3), בעשמין (*CIS*, ii. 1. 163 C), [ב]עש (*CIS*, ii. 1. 176).



This is supported by most of the Old Latin Mss. (*a, f, ff<sup>1</sup>, q; k, d, h* read *belzebul*; *b, velz.*), by some of the Syriac versions, and by the Armenian, Ethiopic, Gothic, Coptic (*belz.*), and others. The Vulgate reads *beelzebub*. This reading has influenced later scribes, with the result that it has been introduced into a few of the Mss. of the Old Latin; but it causes no difficulty, for Jerome has explained that the word means “habens muscas, aut devorans muscas, aut vir muscarum,” and that on that account it is to be read *beelzebub*, and not *beelzebul*.<sup>3</sup> The Peshitta with the Sinaitic and the Cureton Syriac support the reading *beelzebub*; while *syr<sup>p</sup>* (Tischendorf), the Commentary of Ephraim on the Diatessaron, and the Diatessaron in Arabic<sup>4</sup> support *beelzebul*.<sup>5</sup> This evidence suggests that the Diatessaron read *beelzebul*.<sup>6</sup> It is demonstrable that the Syriac version has been influenced in other places by the Old Testament Peshitta<sup>7</sup>; in the light of what we know concerning the reading of the Vulgate that is most probably the case here. Some fragments of homilies in Syriac<sup>8</sup> and a few Latin Mss. read *beelzebud*. An entirely adequate explanation of this is that it is due to a corruption originating in a Greek uncial Ms. ( $\Delta$  for  $\Lambda$ ).

The passages of the New Testament that bear on the question of Beelzebul are Mt. 9 34, 10 24 f., 12 24-28, Mk. 3 22-26, Lk. 11 15-20. Jesus had been exorcising demons; opponents of his of the Pharisaic party offered an explanation of the phenomenon. They said that Jesus had Beelzebul, and that through him, the chief of the demons, he was working his wonders. Jesus, to show the weakness of the Pharisaic

<sup>3</sup> *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis — de Joanne, s.v. ‘Beelzebub’*; cf. also his Commentary on Matt. 10 25.

<sup>4</sup> Codex Fuldensis follows in general the order of the Diatessaron, but gives the text in accordance with the Vulgate.

<sup>5</sup> Gwilliam records a reading on the margin of a Jacobite Ms. of the twelfth or thirteenth century, *B<sup>u</sup>el d’vuv*. This is probably nothing but a textual error; it might be due to the Syriac word *debâbâ* = fly, or possibly (?) to *דבבא* = enmity, as an interpretation (see below, p. 51 f.).

<sup>6</sup> So Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ii. p. 205.

<sup>7</sup> Burkitt, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 204, 289, *et al.*

<sup>8</sup> *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, vol. i. pt. ix. p. 73.

explanation, pointed out what befalls a kingdom, or a city, or a house, that is divided against itself. In like manner, he said, "if Satan hath risen up against himself and is divided, he cannot stand." "If I by Beelzebul," he retorted, "cast out demons, by whom do your people cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges. But if I by the Spirit of God cast out demons, then the kingdom of God is come upon you." At another time he said to his disciples: "A disciple is not above his master, nor a servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple to be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the *master of the house* Beelzebul, how much more them of his household!"

In seeking a satisfactory explanation of the name Beelzebul, it is most natural to consider that it is a real name that has been applied to and is descriptive of the chief of the demons. Our first care is the word *zebul*, and we shall find that in addition to its ordinary meaning 'dwelling,' it was used, in the period with which we are concerned, specifically of the *dwelling of God*, both of the temple in Jerusalem and of heaven.

In Rosh ha-Shanah 17 *a* we read: שפשו ידיהם בזבול שנאמר מובול לו ואין זבול אלא בית המקדש שנאמר בנה בניתי: . . . "because they stretched their hands out against the *zebul*, for it is written מובול לו (Ps. 49 15; cf. Rashi and Ibn Ezra); and there is no *zebul* except the Temple, for it is written: I have built thee a *bêth zebul*" (1 Ki. 8 13). This proves conclusively that זבול was used by itself of the temple in Jerusalem. Similar passages found in Jer. Berachoth, ix. 1 (Zitomir ed., fol. 56 *b*), Ruth R. קמן ונרוי (Warsaw ed., 1725, p. 30 *b*), and Tosefta Sanhedrin 13 *5* (ed. Zuckermann 434 26 f.).

In the Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, c. 37, in a passage which is attributed to Rabbi Meir, a pupil of Akiba, a list of the seven heavens is given: זבול, שחקים, רקיע, וילון, מכן, מעון, and ערבות. In Hagigah 12 *b* the list of the seven is given with a description of each. Zebul is that one in which are situated Jerusalem and the temple and the altar; beside the altar the great prince Michael stands and offers sacrifice.

The other six heavens are similarly described, and the descriptions are accounted for by texts. וילון (Latin, *velum*) is said to be the דֶק of Is. 40 22; רקיע is derived from Gn. 1 17; שחקים comes from Ps. 78 23, where it is parallel to שמים; מעון is from Dt. 26 15; מכון from 1 Ki. 8 39; ערבות is deduced from the parallelism of Ps. 68 5 and Dt. 33 26.<sup>9</sup>

The two passages quoted in connection with *zebul* are 1 Ki. 8 13 and Is. 63 15:

יהוה אמר לשכן בערפל בנה בנתי בית זבל לך  
מכון לשבתך עולמים

and

הבט משמים וראה מובל קדשך ותפארתך<sup>10</sup>

These show that by *zebul* was understood both the temple and heaven. They also show whence this particular usage was ultimately derived. There are two other passages that have been influential in this direction — Hab. 3 11 and Ps. 49 15:

שמש ירח עמד ובלה

and

יצורם לבלות שאול מובל לו

Ibn Ezra's comment on the first of these passages is: כל אחד מהם עמד ובוולו; I take it the poet meant to say: the moon "stands," i.e. ceases to shine<sup>11</sup> in the *zebul*.<sup>12</sup> שמש is prob-

<sup>9</sup> There is also in the same place mention of a discussion whether there were two or seven heavens; Rabbi Jehudah concluded from Dt. 10 14 that there were only two, while ר"ל (who Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, vol. ii (1890), p. 65, n. 3, thinks was Simon b. Lakish, or perhaps Rabbi Levi) held that there were seven. Those who held to the seven differed among themselves as to their contents. The Slavonic Secrets of Enoch, c. 3 ff., and the Testament of Levi, c. 3, both give descriptive lists differing from each other and from the Talmudic list.

<sup>10</sup> This can only be translated: "from thy holy and glorious 'zebul,'" whatever 'zebul' is. The ordinary translation, "from the dwelling of thy holiness and glory," must mean from the dwelling place of thy holiness, etc., i.e. thy holy dwelling.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Jonah 1 15, Josh. 10 13.

<sup>12</sup> Alongside of ובלה I should like to place מענה in the following passage from Deut. 33 26 f.: ובנאותי שחקים מענה: אלהי קדם ומתחת זרעתי עולם: There is none like the God of Jeshurun, Who rideth through the heavens to thy help, And in his majesty through the skies. In heaven is the God of old, But underneath are the everlasting arms.



ably to be taken with the preceding verb. The other passage has presented difficulty to commentators. Our chief interest is to know how the later Jews understood it, and this is clear. The Targum, followed by Rashi, has taken מִזְבֵּל לֹא to mean 'because they stretched out their hands against the temple to destroy it.' This interpretation is also found in the Talmud and the Tosefta,<sup>13</sup> and I think in all probability it is correct, the last few words being an annotation. We may note in passing that Rabbi Jonah, quoted by Ibn Ezra, understood *zebul* in this passage as heaven, for he says, "the judgment of heaven is on every one."

I took it for granted above that the ordinary meaning of *zebul* was dwelling, and of this there is little doubt. That is the meaning given by Abu'l-Walîd and Kimhî in their dictionaries. Rashi has understood it so on Gn. 30 20, 2 Ch. 6 2, Hab. 3 11, Ps. 49 15; Ibn Ezra on Gn. 30 20, Is. 63 15, Ps. 49 15; likewise the Targum on Gn. 30 20, Is. 63 15, Hab. 3 11, Ps. 49 15. This meaning is quite suitable in 1 Ki. 8 13 and Gn. 30 20. In the one case it is a more or less poetic expression, for which Rashi (on 2 Ch. 6 2) gives the prosaic מִדּוּר. One might compare Ps. 26 8,

יְהוָה אֲהַבְתִּי מֵעֵן בֵּיתִךְ  
וּמִקּוֹם מִשְׁכַּן כְּבוֹדֶךָ

with 1 Ki. 8 13,

בָּנָה בְּנִיתִי בֵּית זָבֵל לְךָ  
מִכּוֹן לִשְׁבַתְךָ עוֹלָמִים

In the other case it is probable that an etymology has been forced for the occasion from a denominative verb. There is no reason to suppose that the Greek translators were better acquainted with peculiar Hebrew words than the later Jewish commentators. The Greek of Gn. 30 20 (*αἰπετιεῖ*) may well be nothing more than a good guess or a free translation.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Rosh ha-Shanah, 17 a. T. Sanhedrin, 13 s (ed. Zuckermann, 434. 26 f.).

<sup>14</sup> The theory of Guyard (*Journal Asiatique*, vii. 12, p. 220 ff.), which was accepted by Fried. Delitzsch (*Heb. Lang.*, p. 38) and Franz Delitzsch (*Comm. on Genesis*, on 30 20) that the root idea of the word is "height" does not carry conviction, nor has it won assent. Cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xv.

This makes it clear that *zebul* was understood specifically of the dwelling of God, whether that was thought of as the temple on earth or the heavens; in later ages when the temple had long disappeared it was still used of heaven. The poets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era frequently use the word in this way. The Spanish poet, Shelomo ibn Gabirol (d. c. 1058), wrote as follows (44. 1 f.)<sup>15</sup> :

שֶׁחַק וְכִלְיָהֶמוֹן וְבוֹל לְאֵל מְסֻלוֹתָם יִרְמֹן  
תִּבְל וְיִשְׁבִּי בָּהּ לְמוֹל יוֹצֵרָם פְּנִיָּהֶם הֵם יִשְׁיֹמֶן

Bahya ibn Pekūdā (first half of 11th cent.) has used the word in the same way (54. 5):

הֶמוֹן מִים וְשָׁמַיִם וְאָרֶץ יָקָר יִרְחָ וְאוֹר עֶמֶד וְכֵלָה

Ibn Ezra (d. 1167) bears the same testimony (135. 27):

בְּרֵאשִׁית וְכֵל קָרָא וְאָרֶץ עֶמֶדָה מִהֶרָה

and again (132. 20 f.):

וּמִמְרוֹמוֹ יִתֵּן קוֹלוֹ שֹׁרֶף בָּכֶם וְכֵלָה

One more example may be cited, this from Yosef ibn Zebara (beginning of 13th cent.) (148. 26):

פְּתוּכֵי אֵשׁ טָסִים בָּשֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם בָּרוֹם וְכֵלָה

There is little reason for thinking that the emphasis was placed much differently in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, or that at that time the temple was immediately associated with the idea of 'dwelling of God.' Of course a prophet might say :

Yahwe is in his holy temple,

Let all the earth keep silence before him (Hab. 2 20),

and the suppliant at the Jerusalem temple might cry :

He heard my voice in his temple,

And my cry came into his ears (Ps. 18 7).

729 ; and Halévy, *Revue des Études Juives*, 1885 a, p. 299 ; 1887 a, p. 148. The Greek translation of Gn. 30 20 which is entirely explicable, and the Assyrian usage, which seems still to be uncertain, are not sufficient grounds for this conclusion.

<sup>15</sup> These examples are taken from Brody u. Albrecht, *Neuhebräische Dichterschule*, 1905. The figures give the number of the poem and the line.

Isaiah, in vision, had seen the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lofty, and his train filled the temple — but it was the heavenly temple (Is. 6 1). Jeremiah warned his people against worshipping the temple, against crying: “the Temple of Yahwe, the Temple of Yahwe, the Temple of Yahwe are these” (7 4). And this deeper note is frequent; 586 succeeded 701:

Yahwe is in his holy temple,  
Yahwe — his throne is in the heavens (Ps. 11 4).

“Doth God really dwell on earth? Behold the heavens and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less the house that I have built!” (1 Ki. 8 27 = 2 Ch. 6 18). “Who is able to build him a house, seeing the heavens and the heaven of heavens cannot contain him?” (2 Ch. 2 6). “Heaven is my throne, and the earth my footstool, what kind of house will ye build unto me? Or what kind of a resting place?” (Is. 66 1).

The New Testament presents the same picture. Men went in and out of the temple; there the teachers taught, the people worshiped. But “the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands, as saith the prophet. The heaven is my throne, and the earth the footstool of my feet” (Acts 7 48 f.). “The God that made the world and all things therein, he, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands” (Acts 17 24). “And I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God the Almighty, and the Lamb, are the temple thereof” (Rev. 21 22). *Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*. This explains why when the temple disappeared nothing happened.

I have presented facts to show that *zebul* means ‘dwelling,’ and *par excellence* the dwelling of God — heaven; but that does not complete the discussion of the word. There are a considerable number of traces of its use as the name of a god. These are found in very different places and at very different times.

An officer of Abimelech bore the name זְבֻל (Ju. 9 28. 30. 36. 38. 41). “When a personal or geographical name is a single



noun, it may be the name of a divinity.”<sup>16</sup> A name, at the basis of which is our word *zebul*, was given to one of the Israelite tribes; this was written זבולן, זבולין, and once זבולין in the Hebrew text, and is probably to be pronounced זבולין. The Greek version, which is our oldest authority for the pronunciation of the word, represented it by Σαβουλών; inasmuch as it distinguishes זין and זין this is of considerable importance. The adjective formed from זבולן is זבולני (Jn. 12 11. 12, Nu. 26 27). If Zebulon is the correct pronunciation, it is probably a diminutive like אישון, עפרון, ענלון, נחשון, עברון (cf. ‘Obaid) and שמשון (cf. Sumais).<sup>17</sup> The name of the wife of Ahab, whom we know as Jezebel, is written in the Hebrew text איזבל. The traditional pronunciation is in all probability due to the fact that in it was recognized the word זבל (dung); but there is little doubt that that part of the name is a perversion of our *zebul*, and it may be that the whole word is the equivalent of זבולין, as some have thought.<sup>18</sup> We do find איזור Nu. 26 30 = אביזור Ju. 6 34 *et al.*, and there we do not have to think of textual corruption. I should then compare it with such names as אביאל, אביבעל, אבירו, אחירו, אבימלך, and אחימלך. In an inscription of the fourth century B.C. from Kition, mention is made of a woman whose name is שמובל.<sup>19</sup> With this might be compared one in which Astarte is called שם בעל.<sup>20</sup> Another inscription<sup>21</sup> contains a name of which זבל is an element; it has been transliterated as follows: קבר בעל־אובל. אשת אור בעל בן מקם. The photographic reproduction is anything but clear, but clear enough to show that the copy is not an exact one. From what can be seen of the

<sup>16</sup> H. P. Smith in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, i. p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> See Nöldeke, *Ency. Biblica*, “Names,” § 77.

<sup>18</sup> Ewald, *Lehrbuch d. Hebr. Sprache*, ed. 7, 1863, iii. § 273, n. 1; cf. Fürst, *Handwörterbuch*, 1857, s.v. איזבל. The latter interprets it (s.v. זבול) Herr der Himmelsburg = ב' מען = ב' שמים.

<sup>19</sup> Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 21. 4; cf. Nöldeke, *Ency. Biblica*, “Names,” § 39.

<sup>20</sup> Cooke, *op. cit.*, 5. 18.

<sup>21</sup> *CIS*, no. 158.

א of בעלאובל it cannot be said to resemble very closely the other two א's in the same inscription; it resembles the ת of אשת just as closely, and that reading would be explicable.<sup>22</sup> A proper name, Zabullus, finally, is found on an altar dedicated to the Dii Manes in the walls of an old mosque at Tremesen.<sup>23</sup> After this accumulation of evidence there can be little doubt that Zebul was also a name applied to a god.

For all that has been said regarding the usage of זבול, there is a complete parallel in מעון. This word is used of a lair of jackals (Jer. 9 10, 10 22, 49 33, 51 37), or a den of lions (Nah. 2 12), with the general idea of habitation. It is used of the dwelling place of Yahwe, both of the temple on earth (Ps. 26 8, 2 Ch. 36 15) and in a general way of heaven (Dt. 26 15, Zech. 2 17, Ps. 68 6, 2 Ch. 30 27). In a similar way Yahwe is said to be the *mā'ôn* of his people (Ps. 90 1; cf. 71 3, 91 9):

אדוני מעון אתה היית לנו בדר ודר

Like *zebul* it is the name in Rabbinical literature of one of the heavens — the fifth<sup>24</sup>; and in mediæval poetry is a designation of heaven itself.<sup>25</sup> What idea was associated with the use of *mā'ôn* as the dwelling of God is a question raised by Dt. 33 27: מענה אלהי קדם ומתחת ורעת עולם, and is answered as follows: כתיב מענה וג' אין אנו יודעין אם הקב"ה מעונו של עולם<sup>26</sup> ואם עולמו מעונו מן מה דכתיב<sup>27</sup> ה' מעון וג' הוי הקב"ה מעונו: של עולם ואין עולמו מעונו: Like *zebul* again it was a place name: בית מעון<sup>28</sup> by itself,<sup>29</sup> בית מעון<sup>30</sup> or בעל מעון<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> There is a name on one of the ostraka recently found by the Harvard Expedition at Samaria that is written בעלמכר.

<sup>23</sup> *Corpus Inscrip. Lat.*, viii. 9947, on which see Shaw, *Travels*, ed. 3, 1808, p. 68. In viii. 5987, a part of the same name is found.

<sup>24</sup> Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, c. 37; Hagigah, 12 b.

<sup>25</sup> Brody u. Albrecht, *op. cit.*, no. 16, l. 21; no. 34, l. 3. Cf. מבין, no. 34, l. 7. It seems to be so used in Dt. 33 27; see n. 12.

<sup>26</sup> Bereshith R., 68, 67 c (Levy).

<sup>27</sup> Ps. 90 1, אדני מעון אתה היית לנו בדר ודר.

<sup>28</sup> Shabbath, 139 a.

<sup>29</sup> Jer. 48 23; Jer. Erub. v. (Zitomir ed. 26 b).

<sup>30</sup> Nu. 32 28, Ez. 25 9, 1 Ch. 5 s.

<sup>31</sup> Jos. 13 17, Tosefta, ed. Zuckermann, 71. 23.

From this it may be inferred that it was also the proper name of a god, though in what sense it was used we cannot tell any more than we could in the case of Zebul.

Zebul is heaven; Beelzebul is lord of heaven. With these facts decided we may proceed at once to the solution of the problem. It was the Pharisees who used the name; Beelzebul was chief of the demons; the gods of the nations were considered by the Jews to be demons; in each of the prominent religions of the period one god held a preëminent place, and he was a sky-god — these are the considerations on which the solution will be based.

The Pharisees, Matthew tells us, were the people who said that Jesus was casting out demons by Beelzebul, the chief of the demons; according to Mark it was the scribes who came down from Jerusalem — who in this case were in all probability of the Pharisaic party. These people were the makers as well as the observers of tradition. They were students and teachers of the Bible who represented the observant and progressive side of Judaism — the advocates of the new religion. They are the people from whom we may look for some information on the subject of demonology.<sup>32</sup>

Beelzebul is chief of the demons; that is plain from the gospel narrative — “this man doth not cast out demons but by Beelzebul, the prince of the demons.”<sup>33</sup> It is necessary to see what was meant by ‘chief of the demons,’ and whence a ‘chief of the demons’ might come. The later Jewish demonology was composite in structure; its materials were drawn from all accessible sources. Natural developments at home were combined with borrowings from abroad; and the organization of it all was certainly a gradual and not necessarily a logical process.<sup>34</sup>

Satan was a product of Jewish history. At one time an officer of the celestial court, he later became the representative of all that was evil, appropriating the functions and the

<sup>32</sup> See *Ency. Biblica*, “Scribes and Pharisees,” § 6 f.

<sup>33</sup> Mt. 12 24; cf. 9 34, also Mk. 3 22, Lk. 11 15.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Toy, “Evil Spirits in the Bible,” *JBL*, 1890, p. 17 ff.



names of various other prominent evil and supernatural beings, the evolution of the idea associated with him keeping pace with the development of Jewish angelology and demonology.<sup>35</sup> In a somewhat similar fashion the impulse to evil that is in man from his youth (Gn. 8 21) was personified; the *Yēser ha-Ra'* joined the number of the demons, and before long it was said<sup>36</sup> that Satan, *Yēser ha-Ra'*, and the Angel of Death<sup>37</sup> were one and the same. Belial is another of the important demons. In the early Hebrew literature this word is found chiefly in such expressions as בְּנֵי בְלִיעַל, "vile scoundrels,"<sup>38</sup> in later literature by a natural development it has become a proper name which is applied to the chief of the demons.<sup>39</sup>

The general state of affairs may be illustrated very well from the New Testament. In it there is frequent mention of demons or unclean spirits. Among these powers there is one that is regarded as chief — ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων. He is ordinarily known as Σατανᾶς or ὁ Σατανᾶς, Διάβολος or ὁ Διάβολος; but many other designations are also employed: ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ὁ ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἁέρος, ὁ ἄνομος, ὁ πειράζων, ὁ ἐχθρός, ὁ πονηρός, βελιάρ, ὁ ὄφης, ὁ ὄφης ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ δράκων. The number caused no difficulty whether they were regarded as epithets or real names; on occasion several of them were used side by side: ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφης ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην (Rev. 12 9).

The demons that we have discussed so far, demons that came to be known as 'chief' demons, were the result of native development, though there is little room for doubt that this development was fostered by foreign influence, especially by that of Babylonia and Persia. In addition to this external influence on the development of native Jewish

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Blau, *Jewish Ency.*, s.v. "Satan," p. 69 a.

<sup>36</sup> By Simon b. Lakish, Baba Batra, 16 a.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. 1 Chr. 21 15, 2 Ki. 19 35, 2 Sam. 24 15.

<sup>38</sup> Moore, *Judges*, p. 417; cf. also p. 419.

<sup>39</sup> Ascension of Isaiah, 2 4 4 2; and many passages in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

demonology there is to be observed a certain direct dependence on foreign religions — on the one hand, a direct borrowing from the foreign religion; on the other, explanations necessitated by the very existence of these religions.

Direct borrowing from a foreign religion, naturally rare, may be illustrated by Asmodeus,<sup>40</sup> the great demon of whom we learn chiefly in the book of Tobit. Whatever be the correct explanation of this name, there seems no longer room for doubt that in origin he was the great representative of evil in the Parsee religion, and that he was borrowed and “modified by the sovereign will of the popular imagination,” and made into a chief of the demons<sup>41</sup> for the Jews.

The other phase of direct dependence is more apparent. Hebrew religion had not advanced very far before it was necessary to explain the fact of foreign religion and foreign worship. Different explanations of the fact could be given, and were given. Yahwe might be considered the God of the Hebrews, and a foreign god the god of the foreign people concerned — the opinion of monolatrous theology. Or it might be said that a god of a foreign people was no god at all. On the other hand, it was possible to associate the two gods as the same god under different names. Origen in combating this view illustrates it. He says it is wrong for Christians to call God Zeus, that they are to be defended when they struggle even to the death to avoid calling God by this name or by a name from any other language.<sup>42</sup> He discusses the question further: νομίζουσι μηδὲν διαφέρειν, εἰ λέγοι τις· σέβω τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἢ τὸν Δία ἢ Ζῆνα, καὶ εἰ φάσκει τις· τιμῶ καὶ ἀποδέχομαι τὸν ἥλιον ἢ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἢ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ γῇ πνεῦμα ἢ τὴν Δήμητραν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα φασὶν οἱ Ἑλλήνων σοφοί.<sup>43</sup> I suppose this was the course the Hellenists at the time of the Maccabæan struggle and later had to pursue unless they were prepared to give up their own religion altogether.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See Cheyne, *Ency. Biblica*, s.v.

<sup>41</sup> Called so in Git. 68 a; Pesach. 110 a; Targ. to Eccl. 1 13.

<sup>42</sup> *C. Cels.*, i. 25.

<sup>43</sup> *Exh. ad Martyr.*, § 46; cf. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i. 54.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Cheyne, *Religious Life*, p. 196.

The explanation that was most generally accepted at that period, however, was different. πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμονία (Ps. 95 (96) 5; cf. 1 Ch. 16 26); ἐμίγησαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἔμαθον τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν . . . ἔθυσαν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν τοῖς δαιμονίοις (Ps. 105 (106) 37); οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . οὐδὲ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων . . . ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τὰ δαιμόνια (Rev. 9 20). This same idea apparently finds expression in 1 Corinthians: ὅτι ᾧ θύουσιν, δαιμονίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ θύουσιν.<sup>45</sup> It was further explained that it was really God's doing that foreign nations should do so, for to all the people under the whole heaven he had at the beginning allotted the sun, moon, and stars, and all the host of heaven.<sup>46</sup> A slightly different theory held that when the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the children of men, he set the bounds of the people: κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ (Dt. 32 8). So ἐκάστῳ ἔθνει κατέστησεν ἡγούμενον (Ecclus. 17 17). There is special mention of princes of Persia (Dan. 10 13. 20) and Greece (Dan. 10 20), and likewise of Israel; that of Israel is called Michael (Dan. 10 13. 21 12 1).

The steadfast Jew of the Maccabæan period would have been more than human if, altogether apart from theological opinion, he had considered the god of the heathen oppressor aught else but a demon, and a very powerful and vicious one at that, when he saw the blasphemies (2 Macc. 6 4) that were committed in Judah and Jerusalem, the destruction of the people, the desolation of the holy city, the sanctuary in the hands of strangers (1 Macc. 2 1-14), the high priest sending sacrifices for Herakles at Tyre (2 Macc. 4 19), the foreigner commanding that the holy temple be called by the name of Zeus Olympius (2 Macc. 6 2), the stranger coming as a man of peace and then cutting down the unsuspecting multitudes on the Sabbath day, and when he saw his own brethren forsaking the law of his fathers and of his God (1 Macc. 1 52).

This particular state of affairs of course was transient, but on that account not necessarily quickly forgotten. It was

<sup>45</sup> 1 Cor. 10 20; cf. Baruch, 4 7 (Swete), Dt. 32 17 6.

<sup>46</sup> Dt. 4 19; cf. 29 25. A different explanation in Enoch 19 1.



one phase of a condition that was not transient, but one that was to endure. The cosmopolitan ideas of Alexander the Great, carried on by warrior and trader, pervaded the whole civilized world during the Hellenistic age. The greatness of the man is seen in the ambition that set itself to carry not only Greek arms to every land, but also Greek manners and customs, Greek language, Greek culture, enlisting all the virtues and energies of Asian life, and organizing them in a system and with a spirit that was Greek. His greatness is seen in the permanence of this conquest of Greek civilization in the face of the dissolution of Greek rule. With so much new in this life that was attractive, —opportunities for military service, for political and financial usefulness; more fertile lands abroad, commerce, cities, —with so much that was repellent, and the inability of any man to flee it or avoid it, it would be incredible if its influence on Jewish religion could not be seen, if the influence that lay behind this movement did not make itself felt—the influence of its religion, its gods, its chief god. The gods of the nations are demons.

In each of the prominent religions of the period one god held a preëminent place, and he was a sky-god. We have already mentioned in connection with the discussion of the relation of 'temple' and 'heaven' to 'dwelling of God' that this was the case in the Jewish religion. It is worth pointing out here to how great an extent it is true that the God of the Jews was God of heaven. In the first book of Maccabees there are almost a dozen examples of the use of heaven by metonymy for God;<sup>47</sup> in the second book there are almost as many.<sup>48</sup> The God of the Jews is called God or Lord or King of Heaven in many places.<sup>49</sup> This is found put in the mouths of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, and in the edicts of Darius and Artaxerxes; it is used by the Jews in

<sup>47</sup> 1 Macc. 3 18, 50 4 10, 24, 40, 55 5 31 9 46 12 15 16 3.

<sup>48</sup> 2 Macc. 7 11 8 20 9 4, 20 11 10 14 34 15 34.

<sup>49</sup> Ezra 1 2 5 11, 12 6 9, 10 7 12, 21, 23, 23, Neh. 1 4, 5 2 4, 20, Dan. 2 18, 19, 37, 44 37 5 23, Jonah 1 9, Ps. 136 26, Tobit 13 11, 2 Macc. 15 23. Cf. for the identical usage in the Assuan papyri, Sachau, *Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden*, no. I, 2, 27; II, 26; III, 3.

addressing men of other religions, and in speaking among themselves. Such expressions as אֲכִינוּ שְׂבָשְׁמִים are very common in Rabbinical literature,<sup>50</sup> and simply represent the popular usage of the time.<sup>51</sup> Jesus adopted this usage as suitable to his purpose: Πατήρ ὁ ἐν (τοῖς) οὐρανοῖς is found thirteen times in Matthew, Πατήρ ὁ οὐράνιος seven times.<sup>52</sup>

Similar to this is the cultus of Baalshamem — "the god who dwells in the heavens, to whom the heavens belong."<sup>53</sup> A great deal of the material on this subject has been gathered together by Lidzbarski;<sup>54</sup> from this it is clear that for the later time traces of this cultus are to be found in the whole north Semitic world from Sardinia and Carthage to Palmyra. In many cases he had risen far above the local Baals, *e.g.* at Palmyra; in some it may be that he had supplanted them. Lidzbarski's results need now to be revised in two respects: the occurrence of the name in an inscription of Esarhaddon,<sup>55</sup> and in one of Zakir, king of Hamath and La'ash,<sup>56</sup> necessitates a much earlier date for the beginning of the cult than Lidzbarski had supposed;<sup>57</sup> and the occurrence of the name in the Zakir inscription alongside of the names of other gods removes the objections he raised against supposing that the Dhū Samāwī of South Arabia was equivalent to Baalshamem.

The same general conditions prevailed in the important non-Semitic religions of the period. It is not necessary to demonstrate this;<sup>58</sup> our problem is to show how the Jews

<sup>50</sup> In the Mishna: Sota 49 *a*, *b*, Aboth 23 *a*, Rosh ha-Shanah 29 *a*, Yoma 85 *b*.

<sup>51</sup> Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 188.

<sup>52</sup> Hawkins, *Horæ Syn.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 26.

<sup>53</sup> Moore, *Ency. Biblica*, "Baal," § 4.

<sup>54</sup> *Ephemeris*, i. p. 243 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Schrader, *Keilinschriften*<sup>3</sup>, p. 357.

<sup>56</sup> Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, 1908, pp. 156–178.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 1 ff.; Montgomery, *JBL*, 1909, p. 67.

<sup>58</sup> Farrell, *Cults of the Greek States*, says: In the Greek theory concerning the physical world and the powers that ruled it, we find beneath the bewildering mass of cults and legends a certain vague tendency that makes for monotheism, a certain fusion of persons in one; namely, Zeus. This tendency is genuine and expressed in the popular cult, and is to be distinguished from the later philosophical movement. Thus Zeus could be identi-

regarded the situation, and that is clear. The religions with which they were brought face to face in no uncertain way in the New Testament period were those of Greece and Rome with their gods, Zeus and Jupiter.

The one passage in the Old Testament which throws light on the Jewish attitude to these religions is the famous שקון שמים of Daniel.<sup>59</sup> There seems no longer any reason for doubting that this is a contemptuous allusion to בעל שמים,<sup>60</sup> from which we may infer that בעל שמים was the name applied by the Jews to the god worshiped by Antiochus. We need not stop to inquire whether that be Jupiter or Zeus; whichever it was, he was thought to be the one who had brought about the desolation of the sanctuary. The passage that bears the strongest testimony in favor of the theory that שקון שמים is a perversion of בעל שמים, 2 Macc. 6 2, gives further proof of the fact that בעל שמים was the name the Jews applied to the god of the Greeks and Romans. In the Syriac version of this verse Zeus in the name Ζεύς Ὀλυμπίος and Ζεύς Ξενίος is rendered בעלשמי; in the Vulgate, Jupiter.

There is outside testimony to show that this association was general. Jerome in discussing Dan. 11 31 says that there was a statue erected to Jupiter Olympius; Syncellus<sup>61</sup> says in the same connection that the temple was defiled by setting up in it Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου βδέλυγμα. Josephus,<sup>62</sup> further, quotes Dios as saying that Hiram joined to the city of Tyre

fied with Poseidon as Zeus ἐνάλιος and in Caria as Ζηνο-Ποσειδῶν; he would be identified also with Hades, not only in the poetry of Homer and Euripides, but by the worshipers at Corinth or Lebadeia. The fortunate mariner could offer up his thanksgiving either to Poseidon or Zeus ἀποβατήριος or Σωτήρ. The man who wanted a wind could pray to the various wind gods or to Zeus οὐριος or εὐάνεμος (i. p. 47). His worship has a political significance higher than any other (i. p. 61), a political significance such as belonged to no other Hellenic divinity (i. p. 63). No other Greek deity possessed so long a list of cult-names derived from names of people and towns (i. p. 63).

<sup>59</sup> Dan. 9 27 11 31 12 11; cf. 8 13.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Nestle, *ZATW*, 1884, p. 248.

<sup>61</sup> *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzan.*, vol. xi. 1. p. 543. See Grätz, *Gesch.*, ii. 2. p. 314 f.

<sup>62</sup> *Ant.*, viii. 5, 3; c. *Ap.*, i. 17.



the temple of Olympian Zeus, which had stood by itself, and Menander as speaking of Hiram's dedication of the golden pillar that was in the temple of Zeus at Tyre. This temple is distinguished from those of Hercules and Astarte; that, together with the name applied to it, makes it very probable that it was the temple of Baalshamem. Philo of Byblus, according to Eusebius,<sup>63</sup> makes this association directly: τοῦτον γὰρ θεὸν [Ἡλίου] ἐνόμιζον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον, βεελσαμήν καλοῦντες, ὃ ἐστὶ παρὰ Φοίνιξι, κύριος οὐρανοῦ, Ζεὺς δὲ παρ' Ἑλληνσι. It is not of importance here that he confuses the sun with both Baalshamem and Zeus.

The people who were troubling the steadfast Jews in the New Testament period and for some generations preceding were from Greece and Rome. The god who had been the cause of all this trouble, the one whom these people worshiped, was known to the Jews as בעל שמים. He was a demon, that was plain; but as such it would never do to call him בעל שמים, for that, as we have seen, was the name of the god of the Jews. The mutilation of that name in Daniel shows how distasteful it was, to some of the Jews at least, to apply it to any but the true God. There were other words for heaven that were free from this association, that would suit the situation just as well—וילון, רקיע, שחקים, זבול, מעון, מכון, ערבות were all used of heaven at this period. One, *zebul*, was chosen; why this particular one we do not know. Some of the above list, of course, are unsuited, but others not so unsuited. We have seen that *zebul* had often been used as the name of a god. It may be that this usage had persisted (there is some evidence that it had), that it had been interpreted in accordance with the developing meaning of *zebul*, and so had grown to fit the situation to which it was now applied.

To conjecture further on this subject would be to guess. But whatever may have been the reason of the choice of *zebul*, it is beyond dispute that the god of the hated foreign religion was a sky-god, that the word that would first sug-

<sup>63</sup> *Prep. Evang.*, 1. 10 beg.

gest itself as the proper designation for him as chief of the demons was unsuited on account of its associations, that Beelzebul was not so unsuited, but was satisfactory in every way, and was so applied. So Beelzebul, Lord of Heaven, came to be chief of the demons.

The one passage, which has a bearing on the subject of Beelzebul, which we have not yet discussed, only confirms this result. "A disciple is not above his master, nor a servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple that be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebul, how much more shall they call them of his household!" Various suggestions have been made as to why Beelzebul is introduced here. The question that is to be answered is why the word *οἰκοδεσπότης* is used, and not some other word; and the answer is because of the ordinary meaning of *zebul*. It is a play on each other of the words *בַּעַל הַבַּיִת* and *בַּעַל זְבוּל* — אם — *לְבַעַל הַבַּיִת קְרָאוּ בַּעַל זְבוּל* חַד כְּמָה לְבַנֵּי בֵיתוֹ: (cf. Peshitta).

Very little need be said of the interpretations of Beelzebul that have been offered hitherto. Almost all who have regarded Beelzebul as a real name have started out with the assumption that *zebul* meant dwelling, and then conjectured or guessed at its application in a name 'lord of the dwelling': because the demon took up his abode in human bodies; or because he had his dwelling in Tartarus or the nether world; or because he was prince of the powers of the air; or a planet was referred to; to be more exact, the planet Saturn, or perhaps the sky. This is not, so far as we know, an esoteric name; but if it were and there were no way of finding out its application but by guessing, it would be as well not to guess.

Some have supposed that Beelzebul is a euphonic modification of Baalzebub of Second Kings. Examples of changes similar phonetically have been adduced in sufficient number. The difficulty (which most who hold to this theory have avoided) is to explain the development in thought from Baalzebub to Beelzebul. To say that the fly is an unclean

and troublesome animal does not help much; nor yet is one persuaded that the missing link is found in כַּעַל רַבְכָּא—a phrase that is quite intelligible though apparently not understood by some who write on this subject. All the conjectures that have been made along this line have to be viewed in the light of what we *know* about how the Jews themselves in the New Testament period understood Baalzebub. There is positive evidence from Josephus, the Greek translation of the Old Testament, and a passage in the Babylonian Talmud. Josephus<sup>64</sup> says that Ahaziah sent to Ekron to inquire of Μυῖα, “for that was the god’s name.” In the Greek translation of 2 Ki. 12 we read Ahaziah’s command: ἐπιζητήσατε ἐν τῇ βάλαι μύϊαν θεόν Ἀκκαρῶν. We may feel confident that μύϊα is a translation of וּבֵיכ, and in the light of Josephus’ explanation, that it is here also regarded as a proper name. A Baraitha preserved in the Babylonian Talmud<sup>65</sup> goes somewhat beyond this. It connects Baalberith, who is said to have been worshiped at Shechem after the death of Gideon, with Zebub of Ekron; and explains that the latter was a fly, and that people made images of him, and would carry one about in their pockets and kiss it. Early Christian interpreters, likewise, know nothing of any interpretation but that which connects the name with a fly—Theodoret on 2 Ki. 1; Philaster, *Divers. Hæres. Liber*; Gregory Nazianzen, *Contra Julian.*, orat. iv; Procopius of Gaza on 2 Ki. 1.

So we are forced to the conclusion that facts have not been adduced to show nor a suggestion made that would reasonably explain how the chief of the demons was evolved out of a Canaanite god taken over by the Philistines, who had a certain reputation as a giver of oracles, but about whom we have no further information, nor reason for supposing that the Jews of New Testament times had.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Ant.* ix. 2. 1.

<sup>65</sup> Shabbath 83 b.

<sup>66</sup> If, as seems probable, Baalzebub is a perversion of Baalzebul, it must be due to the author of the story or a very early editor. The earliest version knows only Baalzebub, and, what is more important, the *Baal* is intact, which would not have been the case had the word been changed in a late period. But there is no reason that I know of to suppose that any one in



The theory, proposed by Lightfoot<sup>67</sup> and adopted widely, that Beelzebub is an odious epithet applied to the chief of the demons, rests on error. He cites a passage of the Palestinian Talmud: <sup>68</sup> אפילו אותם שפשטו ידיהם בזבול יש להם במחון, which he translates "Etiam illis, qui manus suos extenderunt, in stercororio (id est, in Idoleo vel Idololatria) est spes." To make his translation of זבול doubly sure he points to the occurrence of the word מזבלין in the same passage a few lines below. The passage he has translated owes its position to the fact that it is an interpretation of part of Ecclesiastes 94: מי אשר יחבר אל כל החיים יש במחון, which differs from one given directly above it. It has no connection whatever with מזבלין. What פשטו ידיהם בזבול does mean was pointed out on page 36. For further proof he quotes the expression יום ניבול וזיבול היה. This is not our word at all; it is written with *yod*, and is doubtless to be pronounced with the same vowels as שקיץ<sup>69</sup>—so it has no place in this discussion.

the New Testament period had any idea that Baalzebub was a perversion of Baalzebub. This with reference to C. Harris in Murray's Bible Dictionary (ed. Piercy, 1908, s. v. "Baalzebub"), who though he knows what Zebul means, fails in this respect to connect the names Baalzebub and Beelzebub, and also to interpret correctly the Zebul of Beelzebub.

<sup>67</sup> *Horæ Hebr.*, 1st ed. 1674, Eng. trans. 1684; on Matt. 12 24, Lk. 11 15.

<sup>68</sup> In the Zitomir edition it is Berachoth 56 b.

<sup>69</sup> So far as I know both the abstract noun and the verb from the same root are always found in the intensive stem.

## The J. P. Morgan Collection of Coptic Manuscripts

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**M**R. J. P. MORGAN has just received from Paris what must be called the most complete, and from the point of view of ancient Christian art and literature, the most valuable collection of Coptic manuscripts as yet known.

It consists of fifty volumes, some of which contain as many as nine or ten different treatises. Nine or ten of them are still in their original bindings of the ninth or tenth century, and a dozen of them are adorned with full-page miniatures representing the Virgin with Her Divine Son at Her breast or sitting in Her lap, angels, martyrs, anchorites, and other saints. A wealth of decorations from the vegetable and animal realms runs along the margins and around the titles of the individual treatises. The bindings consist of boards made of layers of papyrus leaves taken from older manuscripts: the boards, almost half an inch thick, are covered in leather enriched with exquisite designs. One of these bindings covering a magnificent copy of the Four Gospels, is richly and tastefully decorated in red and gold, and shows on the inside the name of the Convent of the Archangel Michael, to which the collection belonged.

Many of the manuscripts are dated from the first half of the ninth to the latter half of the tenth century. They are the oldest dated Coptic manuscripts yet found, even as the miniatures and bindings, just referred to, are the earliest examples of the art of book-binding and decorating manuscripts among the Christians of Egypt.

The collection is rich in biblical manuscripts. It contains six complete books of the Old Testament, of which so far we

had but few fragments, viz., the books of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, the First and Second Books of Samuel, and the book of Isaiah. The New Testament is represented by three complete Gospels, viz., Matthew, Mark, and John (Luke is unfortunately incomplete), the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, the two of St. Peter, and the three of St. John, for all of which books heretofore we were dependent on fragments from many manuscripts of various, and, as a rule, of uncertain ages and provenances. There are only three liturgical manuscripts, a Lectionary, a Breviary, and an Antiphonary, but all three are absolutely unique and of the greatest importance for the history of the ancient Egyptian liturgies.

The apocryphal literature holds also a prominent place in Mr. Morgan's collection, either in the form of special treatises, as the life of St. John the Evangelist by Prochorus, and the Investiture of the Archangel Michael as chief of the heavenly hosts, or more commonly in the shape of homilies or discourses attributed to St. Cyril of Jerusalem or some other prominent Father of the Church. There are also numerous biographies of famous anchorites and cenobites, such as St. Anthony and St. Pacomius, and quite a number of interesting acts of martyrdom.

Most of those documents are couched in the Sahidic dialect, the home of which seems to have been Upper Egypt, but evidently it had spread in the Fayum, as a literary language, as early as the eighth or ninth century. For this wonderful collection was discovered by Arabs in the ruins of a monastery on the southwestern border of that region. Many of the colophons to be found at the end of the manuscripts make it clear beyond the possibility of a doubt that the manuscripts were all written in that province, and many of them in the convent itself, in the ruins of which they were found some twenty months ago, hidden away in a stone vat, with the writing outfits of the scribes: three ink-wells combined with calami cases, and two of the calami themselves, the latter consisting of reed stems sharpened into pens at both ends. The wells proper were of lead and contained



once a sponge imbibed with ink, exactly as customary nowadays in Egypt and other parts of the Orient.

Two other manuscripts, as also all the colophons, are written in the local Fayumic dialect. There is also a Bohairic manuscript, a copy of the Four Gospels. It contains unfortunately many lacunæ, but it has nevertheless a great critical value, as it is the oldest copy of the Four Gospels in that dialect.

What makes the extraordinary importance of the new Morgan collection is the fact that these documents are as a rule complete, while other collections, yet reputed so valuable, of Rome, Paris, and London, to name the principal ones only, generally consist of fragments. For the past two hundred years the Arabs have been wont to tear the manuscripts they discover, so as to give to each member of the tribe his share of the spoils, and also in the hope of securing higher prices by selling the manuscripts piecemeal to individual tourists, or explorers, who often pay as much as eighty dollars for a single leaf of volume, while they would hesitate to buy a whole volume at that rate.

We need not say that this method has proved fatal to the interest of science, as many of the scattered leaves will meet destruction by some cause or another before they find a purchaser, or they will remain indefinitely hidden away by the individual owners.

The most of the manuscripts of this new collection, the finest that was ever discovered, had already been divided into small bundles of leaves and distributed among a number of Arabs, and it would have gone the way of the former finds, but for the energy of Mr. Chussinat, head of the French institute of archeology at Cairo, who persuaded an antiquarian to hunt up the precious relics and buy them at whatever price the Arabs wanted for them.

America may well feel proud that one of her sons has endowed her with such a treasure of art and ancient literature. Thanks to Mr. J. P. Morgan, our country is coming gradually to the point where it will have nothing to envy the European countries for. Mr. Morgan has made up his

mind not to keep this magnificent collection hidden away among his priceless treasures, but with a truly liberal and scholarly spirit, he will see that the whole scientific world be given the benefit of it, and is now considering the means to that end.





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### Some Notes on the Use of אֱל in Genesis

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THERE are eighteen occurrences of the word אֱל in Genesis, omitting 35 7 (with LXX, Luc., and Vulg.), and reading אֱל for אֱת in 49 25 (with LXX, Luc., 3 Mss., Sam., and Syr.). It occurs five times with the article, either simply (31 13 and 46 3, both E), or with a preposition (35 1 E and 49 25 J). Of the thirteen remaining instances, one is the אֱל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 33 20 (E), with which may be compared the יהוה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Jos. 8 30. The others are all in the epithetical combinations, אֱל עֲלִיּוֹן (14 18. 19. 20. 22), אֱל רִאִי (16 13 J), אֱל שְׂדֵי (17 1 28 3 35 11 48 3, all P, 43 14 E, and 49 25 J), and אֱל עֹלָם (21 33 J). All but four of these instances are from Preprophetic writings, and generally admitted to be based upon very old, possibly Premosaic, traditions, and the four uses of אֱל שְׂדֵי in P are confirmed by both J and E, and therefore probably from a similarly old tradition. For the sake of simplicity I shall not translate the term at present, but shall content myself with the simple transcription of the Hebrew letters, El.

We have here to do with a common Semitic word, which appears also in Phœnician, in Aramaic, in Assyrian, and in Arabic. To the present writer it appears certain that it had a wide use in the early Hebrew traditions, and that the

recorders of those traditions, J, E, and P, intentionally, and for theological reasons, substituted the יהוה or אלהים for an original reading אל. It is the oldest Semitic term for "deity," "divinity," and, as such, was applied to the numina which were believed to frequent the ancient sacred stones, trees, and springs. But, even in Premosaic times, it connoted far more than the idea of the local numen, and the writers of the prophetic schools J and E saw in it merely a synonym of יהוה or אלהים, which they constantly used.

In 35 1 (E) Jacob is commanded to go to Bethel and build an altar לאל הנראה אליך, "to the El who appeared to thee," and in v. 3 he proposes to obey the command, and to build an altar לאל הענה אתי, "to the El who answers me," while in 31 13 (E) he is described as recording the words of a vision אנכי האל בית אל, "I am the El, Beth-el," or "I am the El at Bethel." The LXX translators, as well as the Targums (Onkelos and Jonathan), realizing the impossibility of the article with a word in the construct, and knowing nothing of the possibility of Beth-el as a possible proper name of a divinity, read אנכי האל הנראה אליך בית אל. The reference is plainly to the Bethel vision recorded by both J and E, whose records are combined in 28 11-22. There is a general unanimity of opinion in the assignment of these verses to their respective sources, and, for our purpose, the accepted division serves all needs. To J belong vv. 10. 13-16, 19 and 21 b; vv. 11-12. 17-18. 21 a and 22 belong to E.

The two accounts agree in the following points:

1) That Jacob accidentally chose the spot as a place in which to spend the night.

2) That, while he was sleeping, some sort of theophany occurred there as an entire surprise to him.

3) That, accordingly, he termed the place a "Beth-el."

In J all reference to the stone or to the ladder is omitted, and it is Jahweh himself, and not one of his angels, who appears to the sleeping wanderer. But the passage looks as if the writer had taken an old tradition and intentionally omitted parts, and, instead of the אל which belonged to the original, used the name יהוה, excepting in the name of the

place, where it would be obviously impossible in a narrative that purported to give the etymology of the famous shrine Bethel. Accordingly Jacob is made to say that because Jahweh was in the place, and he was unconscious of the fact, he would call the place "Beth-el," which is something of a *non sequitur*. This difficulty, as well as the linguistic awkwardness of v. 16 is removed if, instead of יהוה במקום הוה, we read יש אל במקום הוה.

On the other hand, E has omitted none of the old tradition, mentioning even the anointing of the stone, but the intimate association of God with the stone, or with the place, as in J, was contradictory to his theological conceptions, that the dwelling place of God was in heaven, and he has therefore altered the tradition to keep it in harmony with that notion. It is not God himself, but his angels, which E records as appearing to the wanderer. However, he neglects to make this change in his reference to the story in 35 1, which preserves, not only the tradition of the theophany, but even the original word אל, instead of the later plural אלהים. It would seem that the original tradition underlying this passage was that of the appearance of an El at a sacred stone.

The same result appears from a study of the flight of Hagar (16 1-14, all J except 9-10 E). Hagar flees from Sarai, and the מלאך יהוה finds her by עין משפט. He tells her she is pregnant, and promises a future for her son, adding וקראת שמו ישמעאל כי שמע יהוה אל עניך. The story continues by saying ותקרא שם יהוה הדבר אליה אתה אל ראי. From the form of v. 11 we should expect the name ישמעיהו, but, if we substitute אל for יהוה, the verse reads readily enough. Again, it is the מלאך who addresses Hagar, but in v. 11 it appears that the divinity himself had spoken. The suggested emendation is to supply, as the original reading, ימצאה for מלאך יהוה in vv. 7 and 11. Finally, the word ימצאה is out of place. It is the only connection of this word with יהוה. The most natural word to be expected, whether we use אל or יהוה as the subject, is וירא. Likewise, in v. 13, instead of the very late Qal participle הדבר, we should



expect הנראה. The emended verses, then, would read  
 ..... וירא אליה האל (7) ..... ויאמר לה האל  
 וקראת שמו ישמעאל כי שמע האל אל ענין: (13) ותקרא שם  
 האל הנראה אליה אתה אל ראי

The יהוה of 17 1 (P) is evidently a later interpolation. Another subject stood in this place in the original document which was used by P. If that subject had been the word usually used by P, there would be little reason for the change. If, however, the subject was האל, we have another instance of a stereotyped form, וירא האל, with which narratives of theophanies were wont to begin in the ancient traditions. My suggestion is that there was such a form, and that in J this was regularly changed to יהוה or מלאך יהוה, while in E it naturally became אלהים (12 7 18 1 26 2. 24 35 9 46 29).

Into the etymologies of the epithets compounded from I cannot enter here. In general, they describe some activity, physical or moral, of the El. More important is the question whether they are the names of separate and individual deities, or whether they are different appellatives of the same deity, or, in other words, whether there was a common deity worshiped by the Israelite tribes, or the Semitic ancestors of those tribes, in Premosaic times.

In the so-called "blessing of Jacob" (chap. 49), there occurs in the address to the tribe of Joseph (v. 25) the expression מאל אביך, which is paralleled, according to the emended reading, with אל שדי. In the dream of 46 3 (E) the deity is represented as saying אנכי האל אלהי אביך. This verse may be regarded in one of two ways. It may be considered as a fuller form of אנכי אל אביך, thus probably paralleled with the expression "God of the fathers," which occurs in all the Preëxilic documents of the Pentateuch (Ex. 3 6 E, 4 5 J, and often in the prefatory and concluding chapters of Deuteronomy). On the other hand, האל may be considered as a proper name, and אלהי אביך as an attributive clause.

## The Original Home of the Story of Job

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PROFESSOR MACDONALD published in this JOURNAL some years ago (vol. xiv, 63-71) convincing proof that the story of Job as told in the Prologue and Epilogue of our book is by a different author from the author of the poem, and that it originally contained the portrait of a different Job. Afterward Professor Macdonald presented (*AJSL*, xiv, 137-164) some external evidence in corroboration of this thesis.

Later Professor Jastrow published in this JOURNAL (vol. xxv, pp. 135-191) an able study of a poem from the library of Assurbanipal concerning a high official or king of Nippur called Ṭābi-utul-Bêl, which presents many parallels to the poem of Job, and raised the question whether the story of Job may not have had a Babylonian origin.<sup>1</sup>

If there is any connection between this Babylonian poem and our story of Job, it was only of the most general character. It is clear that our poem of Job is the free composition of one of the world's greatest poets. Such coincidence of imagery as may be found with the Babylonian poem is due to similarity of theme and not to conscious borrowing. Moreover, the Prologue and Epilogue, as Professor Macdonald pointed out, and as is now generally accepted, represent an

<sup>1</sup> In addition Jastrow published a German translation of all the text then known in his *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii. 120-133. Translations are also found in Zimmern's *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete*, Leipzig, 1905, 28-30, and Weber's *Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier*, 135-137. A more recently discovered fragment is published by R. Campbell Thompson in *PSBA*, xxxii. 18-24, and the whole is translated again by M. F. Martin in the *Journal Asiatique*, July-August, 1910, pp. 75-143.

earlier form of the story, the Job of which was not a critic of the divine government, but was an example of uncomplaining patience. Now that R. Campbell Thompson has recovered a tablet which contains, though in fragmentary form, the turning point of the Babylonian story, it appears (though the fragmentary text leaves some doubt about it) that that form of the story represented Job as finally discovering a conjurer (*mašmašu*) who was able to make for him effective intercession with his god. Assuming for the moment that the three forms of the story spring from the same root, the Babylonian tale was told to magnify the power of magicians, the story of the Prologue and Epilogue to glorify patient submission, and the poem to demonstrate the inadequacy of an out-worn theology.

It is quite clear that, if the story traveled westward from Babylonia, it traveled orally in bare outline, shorn of all local features. The name of the sufferer, Job, is quite different from the name of Tâbi-utul-Bêl, and the localities mentioned in our Biblical story, indefinite as they are, certainly have nothing to do with the neighborhood of Nippur.

It is a well-known fact that stories travel and attach themselves to new localities and new characters. Two or three years ago the writer was told in a remote country village an amusing story of the school days of Colonel Roosevelt. Repeating it some weeks later to a man who had traveled much, he was informed that that story was told in England forty years ago of the school days of the author of *Tom Brown at Rugby*.

The locality, then, to which the story of Job had attached itself was probably much nearer to Palestine than Nippur. The author of the Prologue refers to it vaguely as among the "children of the East" (13).

A study of other parts of the Old Testament reveals the fact that there were two different traditions concerning the location of Uz. Gen. 22 21 (J) and 10 23 (P) make Uz a son of Aram. This implies that it lay to the northeast, but it might be anywhere between the Hauran and the Euphrates. On the other hand, Gen. 36 28 (P<sup>a</sup>) and Lam. 4 21 point to



a locality in or near Edom. Jeremiah in 25 20 mentions Uz between Egypt and Philistia, as though it lay between Palestine and Egypt, but it is not impossible that Jeremiah may have had in mind a territory near Edom.

Similarly, outside the canonical text we find evidence of two views as to the location of Uz. Shalmaneser II of Assyria (860-825 B.C.) received tribute from Sasi, the Uzzite (Obelisk inscription, l. 154). As this Sasi is mentioned in connection with the men of Patin, it is clear that the Uzzite must have belonged west of the Euphrates. The connection with Patin would lead one to look for it east of the Lebanon, but that consideration is not absolutely decisive. Again, Josephus in his *Antiquities*, i. 6. 4, says, "Of the four sons of Aram Uz founded Trachonitis and Damascus." Josephus, then, placed Uz to the northeast of the Sea of Galilee, but not so far away as the inscription of Shalmaneser seemed to do. Shalmaneser's reference was, however, vague, and it is quite possible that both he and Josephus referred to the same place.

On the other hand, the addition to the Hebrew text of Job 42 17, which is found in the Greek, Sahidic, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions, places Uz "on the borders of Edom and Arabia," and this view is perpetuated in the Testament of Job.

Of these two traditions it is clear that the oldest is the one which places Uz in an Aramæan and not in an Edomite locality. The latter tradition is not older than Jeremiah, and it is not certain that it can be traced back of a late supplementer to the Priestly Document, the author of Gen. 36 28. The Aramæan tradition, on the other hand, is as old as the J Document (Gen. 22 21) and that writer's contemporary, Shalmaneser II, and can be traced through the main P Document and Josephus down to the end of the first century of our era.

It is interesting to note that this older tradition would be satisfied if Uz were situated to the eastward of the Sea of Galilee, where many years ago Wetzstein found villages named for Job, *Dêr Eyyub* (Job's house) and *Maqam Eyyub*

(Job's place) (see his "Anhang" to Delitzsch's *Das Buch Job*, p. 551 ff.), and where later Schumacher found a place called by the common people "The Threshing Floor of Uz" (see Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, p. 179, and Ewing, *Arab and Druze at Home*, p. 17). These places lie an hour to an hour and a half south of Nâwa, which is situated some twenty miles east of the north end of the Sea of Galilee. Wetzstein further pointed out that the home of Eliphaz the Temanite was to be found in the village of Tema, distant the journey of a day or a little more to the eastward in Jebel ed-Druz (cf. Ewing, *op. cit.* 19 ff.), and that Zophar the Naamathite came from the village of En-No'eme (spelled En-Nu'eme on the map of Baedeker's *Palästina*, ed. 1910, *op. p.* 144), which lies a little to the east of Der'at, and less than a day's journey from the "Threshing Floor of Uz." Tema and En-No'eme are so appropriate as the homes of Eliphaz and Zophar that it seems as though this must indeed be the country in which the Job legend either grew up or took root after it was transplanted. All that it needs to make it certain is to find a town in the region from which Bildad the Shuhite could plausibly come and to get rid of some difficulties to be mentioned later. Wetzstein saw the original of Shuhu in the "city Sueta," which some medieval writers (Eugesippus, William of Tyre, and Marino Sanuto) mention as existing in the region, and which Wetzstein thinks may have been a name for the country to the west of the Hauran mountains (*op. cit.* 569 ff.). Unsatisfying as this solution of Shuhu is, it seems clear that if the Uz and Tema and Na'amah of our Job lay in the Hauran, the original of Shuhu must have been there also, and could not have been the distant Aramæan country of Suḥu on the Euphrates with which Assurnasirpal had trouble (cf. *KB*, i. 99 ff.).

If we could regard the localities mentioned in the Prologue to Job, then, as all lying in the Hauran, the conditions of the older tradition as to the locality of Uz would be satisfied, and the origin of the younger tradition would easily be explained. The Teman of Edom was much better known to the dwellers west of the Jordan than the Tema of Jebel

ed-Druz. This last place is never elsewhere mentioned in the Bible, while their Scriptures kept the memory of Teman in Edom alive among the Jews. It was natural, accordingly, for the second tradition to spring up. Perhaps at the same time Bildad was identified with the distant Shuhites, who are said in Gen. 25 2 to be descended from Abraham through Keturah.

There is an objection to this view of the origin of these traditions, which at first sight seems important, but upon closer scrutiny disappears. In Job 1 15. 17 the Sabæans and Chaldæans are said to have each had a part in destroying Job's property. While it appears from Eze. 21 20 ff. that the Chaldæan king Nebuchadrezzar may have marched against Rabbath Ammon, going in all probability through the Hauran, it is improbable that in a little district like that in which the "Threshing Floor of Uz," Tema, and No'eme lie, two distant nations like the Sabæans and Chaldæans should be on hand at the opportune moment to help on Job's trial. Grant that it is only a story, still it seems unlikely that, if the story originated here, these nations were a part of the tale. The Septuagint, Sahidic, and Ethiopic versions lead us to believe that in the original account neither of these nations played any part. In v. 15 instead of Sabæans (שָׁבָא), these versions read "those who take captive" (Gr. αἰχμαλωτεύοντες, so Sahidic, Ethiopic), *i.e.* the reading was from the root שָׁבָא<sup>2</sup>, "take captive," from which the phrase, שָׁבָא שְׁבִיךָ, "lead thy captivity captive," Jud. 5 12, comes. Clearly, then, the original reading here was שָׁבָא, "raiders." One can understand how שָׁבָא might be changed to שָׁבָא, but the contrary change would be improbable.

Similarly, in v. 17 these versions read "horsemen" (Gr. οἱ ἵππεις, cf. Sahidic, Ethiopic), which is the Hebrew פָּרָשִׁים, a word that could easily be corrupted into כְּשָׁדִים,

<sup>2</sup> Three possibilities are presented by the reading of the versions. 1. The Hebrew may have been שָׁבָא, but this is improbable as it would involve a change of two Hebrew verbs from singular to plural. 2. It may have been the singular participle, שָׁבָא. 3. It may have been שָׁבָא, regarded by the Septuagint translators as a collective noun. One must choose between the second and third alternatives.



and which there is as much reason for regarding as the original reading here as for regarding שבה as the original reading in v. 15. The removal of Sabæans and Chaldæans from the original story, and the substitution of "raiders" and "horsemen" greatly increases the probability that Wetzstein was right in finding the home of our form of the Job story in the Hauran.

The introduction of the Sabæans and Chaldæans into the narrative was, no doubt, made in order to give Job a greater prominence. It helped to this end by making his wealth seem such that distant nations found it worth while to attack him. This tendency to glorify Job appears in the addition to 42 17 already referred to. That addition has been preserved to us in two recensions, the earlier and shorter one in the Arabic version, the later and longer one in the Septuagint, Sahidic, and Ethiopic versions. According to the shorter recension Job is identified with Jobab, a king of Edom, while Eliphaz is the king of the Temanites. According to the longer recension Job came of a line of kings of Uz; Eliphaz was also king of the Temanites; Zophar, king of the Minæans in South Arabia, while Bildad was tyrant of the Shuhites. In these two recensions the tendency to exalt Job and to make the theatre of the story an international one has gone still further. Our present Hebrew text, which introduces the Sabæans and Chaldæans, contains but the beginnings of this tendency. In the Testament of Job the glorification of Job has gone to the extreme. King Job tells at length of the truly royal munificence with which he helped the poor, while his royal friends come to condole with him accompanied by splendid bodyguards. Thus in the end Job, like Tâbi-utul-Bêl, was regarded as a royal sufferer.

Wetzstein's theory of the location, then, accounts for the introduction of the story into Israel, accounts for the two traditions concerning the home of Job, and is supported by the fact that the natural growth of a popular story accounts for all features inconsistent with such a cradle land.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Since this article left the hands of the writer, Dhorme, *Revue Biblique* for January, 1911, pp. 102-107, has argued that the tradition of an Edomite locality is the earlier, but his reasons do not seem convincing.

## The Four Women in St. Matthew's Genealogy of Christ

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RECENT discussion of the Virgin Birth has renewed interest in the genealogies of Christ; and one of the questions that have been reopened is the significance of the exceptional mention of the four women in Matthew's genealogy. Zahn, for example, in his *Introduction and Commentary on Matthew* has advocated the view suggested by earlier writers that the aim of the reference to these women is to connect their history with an attack on the Virgin Birth that had been made even before the composition of our First Gospel. As his view has largely influenced the most recent and representative British, French, and German discussions, it seems worth while to examine it critically; and if it should appear not to be tenable, to suggest another theory.

The fundamental questions are whether the mention of the women is made with a dogmatic interest of the Evangelist in Christ's salvation of sinners; or with an apologetic interest in defending the Virgin Birth; or with an apologetic interest in a mere general problem of the Apostolic Age, revealed in a general tendency of his gospel as a whole. Ordinarily the purpose of the Evangelist is made uncertain by confusing these distinct aims; and the confusion is occasioned by the several characters and histories of the four ancestresses.

The Church fathers generalizing from the sinful character of some of the women named are most frequently interested in allegorizing as to the appropriateness of the Saviour of

sinner descending from sinners. Origen in his 28th homily on Luke,<sup>1</sup> preserved in Jerome's translation, supports this view by the statement that all the women referred to were sinners censured by Scripture. Chrysostom in his first three homilies on Matthew based various practical applications on the sinfulness of the group.<sup>2</sup> And Jerome in his Matthew commentary bequeaths the view to Western writers in the definite statement:<sup>3</sup> "Notandum in genealogia Salvatoris nullam sanctarum assumi mulierum sed eas quas scriptura reprehendit; ut qui propter peccatores venerat, de peccatoribus nascens, omnium peccata deleat." Nicolaus de Lyra in the fourteenth century made a spirited denial of Jerome's view of the Evangelist's interest in the sinful character of these women.<sup>4</sup> But even in the early patristic period, Ambrose in his exposition of Luke 3 recognizes that this view finds its chief support in the reference to sinful Bathsheba. To him the mention of Ruth points to the Evangelist's interest in the admission of Gentiles into the Church of the Messiah descended from a Gentile. For Ruth though a Gentile was pious and chaste. Tamar did not seek satisfaction of lust, but yearned for the privilege of succession.<sup>5</sup> Rahab had already been pronounced just by James the Just and by the Epistle to the Hebrews.

This New Testament praise of Rahab is in accord with the Old Testament view not only of her, but of Ruth as well. If now it can be shown that the Old Testament presents Tamar also in an honorable light, it will be unreasonable to suppose that the Evangelist would introduce as the historic type of sinners a group of women of whom three-fourths enjoy Old Testament approbation.

The real animus and spirit of the Genesis account of Tamar has been reproduced most fully and with singular animation by Gunkel. Delitzsch indeed had already said of her:<sup>6</sup> "In all her errors, she was through her wisdom, ten-

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *P.G.*, 13. 1873.

<sup>2</sup> *P.G.*, 57.

<sup>3</sup> Vallarsi ed. 7 a.

<sup>4</sup> *Postillae*, 1508, fol. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *P.L.*, 15. 1678 ff. Quoted in Schanz, *Ev. Mts.*, p. 70.

<sup>6</sup> *New Cty. on Genesis*, ii. p. 276.



derness, and noble-mindedness a saint according to the Old Testament standard." Gunkel,<sup>7</sup> while not agreeing with Benzinger and Nowack in their view that Tamar had a rightful claim for maternity from her dead husband's father, insists in opposition to Reuss, Kautzsch, and Wellhausen, that her act was not incest according to the view of antiquity, by reason of the necessity of her situation. And in this he is supported by Holzinger ;<sup>8</sup> both of them emphasizing Judah's justification of her act. Gunkel definitely interprets the Old Testament narrative as honoring her courage and energy. Overcoming the common prejudice, she does the utmost that an honorable woman can do : places her honor and her life in jeopardy ; and yet disposes everything so prudently as a true ancestress in Judah, that the dangerous path leads to a happy goal, even her vindication by Judah and her renown in Israel as witnessed by the benediction on Ruth in Ruth 4 12.

That this honorable view of Tamar, which the twentieth century critic obtains from the direct statements and clear animus of the Genesis section, would naturally be the Evangelist's interpretation of the Old Testament record, is further attested by the Jewish traditions, be it of praise or of extenuation of the character not only of Tamar but also of the other women in the group. From the numerous collections of these traditions, it is enough to recall concerning Tamar that David could boast of this ancestress as being not of a tainted family, but as daughter of Shem, a priest ; as being so modest that she was veiled even in her home, whence Judah's failure to recognize her ; as boasting when pregnant that she would be the mother of kings and of a redeemer. E. A. Abbott<sup>9</sup> refers to the definite vindication of Tamar in the Targum of Jonathan on the Genesis narrative : "The Bath Kol fell from heaven and said, From before me was this thing done, and let both be delivered from judgment." He quotes also from the *Jewish Encyclopædia*,

<sup>7</sup> Nowack's *HKzAT*, "Genesis," 1902, pp. 365-370.

<sup>8</sup> Marti's *KHKzAT*, "Genesis," 1898, p. 230.

<sup>9</sup> *From Letter to Spirit*, p. 147, text, p. 421.

ii. 589 b: "At three Courts of Justice the Holy Spirit beamed forth; at the courts of Shem, of Samuel, and of Solomon. At the first a Bat Kol cried, She, Tamar, hath been more righteous than I."

In praise of Rahab and of her honorable standing in Israel are the assertions that the Holy Ghost rested upon her even before the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan; that she had a *fides specialis*, unique in that she regarded Jahveh as God not only in the visible earth, but infinitely more—as God in the invisible and unknown Heaven; that from her descended ten priests and prophets, including Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Hulda; and that by her merit, in case two hundred members of her family were married with two hundred members of different families, all would be saved. It is needless to quote the rabbinical echoes of the praise of the personal character of Ruth already given in the Book of Ruth. Even Bathsheba is not held up to condemnation. The *Jewish Encyclopædia* quotes the passages in which the rabbis gloss her crime: "She was destined from creation to be the wife of David; and the marriage relation was immaturely precipitated by the wile of Satan."

There is therefore reason to believe that the Evangelist, even confining himself to the Old Testament record itself, would find in it and would adopt from it an honorable view of the character of three of the four women. Even of Bathsheba he could find no word of condemnation in the Old Testament after David's pardon and the death of the child of her shame. Evidently he cannot be interested, or primarily interested, in these women with such favorable Old Testament notice, as being representative sinners. Nor had he any need to seek in them the types of sin, since a selection from the genealogical line of the men would equally or better serve such a purpose.

Dismissing therefore the ancient theory that the four women are meant to be types of sin, we meet next with the view largely held since the Reformation, that they are the types of Mary. Generalizing from the fact that each became a mother in the Messianic line in an extraordinary and

utterly unanticipated manner, such maternity is regarded as related in the Evangelist's view to the Virgin Mary's supernatural maternity. Not only De Wette, but Meyer, B. Weiss, Holtzmann, Burkitt, and Loisy, continue with various qualifications this so-called Protestant tradition. This theory rests upon the large assumption not only that the Evangelist himself believed that the Virgin Birth was prefigured by the unusual motherhood of the four women, but also that he believed that the readers of his gospel would be prepared by the initial surprises of the genealogy to accept the miracle at its close. This last assumption is contrary both to the possibilities of the case and to the writer's directness of literary method and to his apologetic skill, which are strikingly summarized by Nicolardot,<sup>10</sup> who even compares him with Taine. There is no indication that any one, Jew or Gentile, in the Apostolic Age or since, was prepared, or could be prepared, for belief in the Virgin Birth by such a cryptic and illogical suggestion. In both Infancy narratives the Virgin Birth is brought into relation with various Old Testament facts, but with nothing of this typi Mariæ order. Nor could it be. Weiss' exposition, with no justification, ascribes to the Evangelist an argumentative comparison which issues in an utter *non sequitur* and self-contradiction. For on the types-of-Mary theories, there are only three possible points of comparison between the wedded mothers in David's line and the virgin mother of David's son—extraordinary admission to the line of ancestry, the personal character of the ancestresses, or the mode of maternity.

Weiss sees the comparison in the first point. In editing the Meyer commentary he retains the statement of Meyer: "In accordance with the whole design of the genealogy which was to issue in him who was wonderfully born of a woman, the four women had entered by an extraordinary mode into the vocation to continue the line of descent of the coming Messiah, and they thereby appeared to the Evangelist as types

<sup>10</sup> *Les Procédés de Rédaction des Trois Premiers Évangélistes*, pp. 112, 113.



of Mary."<sup>11</sup> But there is simply no comparison in this point of their extraordinary admission into Messiah's line of descent, with the New Testament view of Mary. She was not introduced into that line by any special divine interposition, as in the case of Rahab or Ruth; or by any divine overruling of human acts, as in the case of Tamar and Bathsheba. She was born in that line. In the New Testament there is *prima facie* no other suggestion or implication than that Christ was *kata sarka* of the seed of David, legally and physically, which involves the New Testament assumption of the Davidic lineage of his mother as well as of Joseph. The four women originally outside the line of descent cannot therefore be to the Evangelist types of Mary who did not need to be extraordinarily introduced into that line.

Equally impossible is it that in personal character the four women could be typical of Mary whom Christ's Church and the New Testament regard as a pure Jewish Virgin, since one of the four was a heathen who dangerously risked her chastity; another had boldly encouraged the father of her twins to intended fornication and almost to constructive incest; the third had been a harlot; and the fourth an adulteress. At most the strange choice of the four might point to the choice of a lowly and unknown mother of Messiah, but not to a virgin mother, which according to this theory is the one thing to be proved typologically. There is further a sheer impossibility of comparison between them and Mary in the third and crucial point of the mode of maternity. A virgin mother could not be typified by any of the four, who all became mothers in natural wedlock, and not one of whom was a virgin even when entering upon marriage relations with the fathers of their children. As

<sup>11</sup> Meyer-Weiss, 7th ed., 1883. In his own *Matthäusevangelium*, 1876, p. 75, he states: "Nicht bloss ihre Celebrität also oder gar ihre Sündhaftigkeit ist es, welche diesen Frauen ihre ausdrückliche Erwähnung im Stammbaum verschafft hat, sondern lediglich die Thatsache, dass sie alle auf ausserordentlichen Wegen zu Stammmüttern des Messias und so zu Vorbildern der Maria wurden, die gleichfalls nur durch wunderbare Gottesfügung die Gattin des Joseph und die Mutter des Messias ward (Vgl. v. 20. 21)."

the assumed typology thus fails to serve the Evangelist's alleged purpose, and contradicts his known views and purpose, the types-of-Mary theory must also be abandoned.

Wetstein in 1751 broke away from these theories of types of sin and types of Mary, and in modern spirit correlated the mention of the four women with the facts and problems of the Apostolic Age. Until recently his view seems to have received scant attention, probably owing in large measure to his clear terse statement of it, which at once reveals the improbability that the Evangelist could have used an argument so offensive both to Christian delicacy of feeling and to logical method and consistency. He claimed that the four are named not to prepare men to believe in the Virgin Birth, but to meet a contemporary Jewish objection to it.<sup>12</sup> Matthew in the method of an accurate disputant decided to remove Ebionite suspicions of a natural birth and Jewish suspicions of an illegitimate birth by the statement of Christ's miraculous birth in 1 18-25; and then by means of 1 3-17 to show that they who would not abandon such suspicions were unreasonable in opposing Christ himself and his teaching. "For if no stain attached to the offspring of the four sinful women, what is more unjust than to burden with suspicions him to whom they in nowise belong. What cavil can they make against a virgin mother who boast in the four women numbered in the line of Messianic descent? If they excuse open crimes, why are they so prone to empty suspicions, unless they are led by partisan feelings? Why imitate Doeg and Samael, and why not prefer to abstain from false accusations?"

It is substantially this theory which has been revived by Zahn, and which through his advocacy has received favorable notice or adoption, *e.g.* by Allen in *ICC*, p. 7, and in the *Expository Times*, 1911, pp. 349 ff.; by Nicolardot, *Procédés, etc.*, p. 21; by E. Klostermann in Lietzmann's *Hbuch. zNT*, ii. 152; and by J. Weiss, *Die Schriften des N.T.*, p. 234. Through such channels its increasing general or popular influence is assured. Zahn's special interest in the

<sup>12</sup> *Nov. Test.*, 1, pp. 226, 227.

theory is its indication of a very early Christian teaching as to the Virgin Birth. Assuming on Zahn's view that Matthew was originally composed about 62, it is held that his sharply pointed apologetic and polemical opening genealogical section implies a well-known Jewish attack on a still earlier current teaching of the Virgin Birth. He and Wetstein are no doubt right in inferring that the exceptional reference to the women has a direct apologetic intention; and are also right in holding that this reference is related to a crucial question in the early Apostolic Age.

But it may be denied that this question is an attack on the Virgin Birth. Principally because Matthew's reference cannot possibly be any answer to such attack, and therefore he cannot in fairness and justice reasonably be held to refer to it. Zahn argues: objectors who assert without grounds that Jesus is illegitimate, and cannot therefore be the promised son of David, should reflect that great stains are found in the Davidic line, which are not groundless slanders, but are attested by the Old Testament. If these dark spots in David's lineage cannot absolve the objectors from recognizing in that lineage a divinely guided holy history, nor absolve them from exertion to understand its dark points, so is it their duty not to refuse on account of hateful slanders against Jesus' origin a willing ear to the presentation of the true state of the facts. The *skandala* in the genealogy prepare for the *skandalon* which the Jews found in the conception and birth of Christ.<sup>13</sup>

This is but a repetition of Wetstein. Indeed, it is but a repetition of the types-of-Mary theory already criticised. Deniers of the miraculous birth are expected to become believers in it by dwelling on the swift allusions to non-virgin births from four women more or less stained in character, or standing originally outside of Israel and of the regular Messianic line. But what right have we to ascribe to the Evangelist the aim of expecting to win opponents by such pointless reasoning which really subverts his own purpose and his own faith?

<sup>13</sup> *Ev. d. Matth.*, p. 64.



The theory fails also in assuming that the section is addressed to opponents of the gospel. *Apologia* the First Gospel assuredly is; but not primarily to the Jews.<sup>14</sup> Like every book of the New Testament it is addressed to the faithful; and specially like all the gospels, it is for the defense and confirmation and establishment of those who are already believers, that they may know the certainty of the things in which they have been instructed, and believing may have life. In the matter under discussion, the mention of the four women has no reference to Virgin Birth, nor is it addressed to deniers of it. The *apologia* of the Virgin Birth is given in the succeeding section, and was directly addressed to believers who accept the apostolic witness to it, which rests on the claim of one woman, the tradition of the angelic annunciation, the illumination of Old Testament prophecy, and on all the supporting considerations connected with the person and work of Christ. Without question the Apostolic Church was devoutly interested in winning opponents to her faith, and was zealous to use all available resources of argument and persuasion. But against the Zahn-Wetstein theory it is to be maintained that the apologetic interest of the First Gospel cannot be strained so as to transform the gospel into a polemic against objectors to whom it is not directly addressed, especially here where objectors to the Virgin Birth are not in his thought, and who therefore could not be expected to find anything relevant or subversive of their objections in his reference to the four women.

If then the Evangelist has not introduced the women as types of sinners or of Mary, or as Old Testament difficulties whose solution will in some way remove difficulties in believing in the miraculous birth of Jesus, there remains the theory here briefly advocated that he has selected all four on account of their heathen origin or associations, and that he means to utilize their incorporation into Israel and their direct connection with the Messianic hope in the solution of

<sup>14</sup> Cp. Jülicher in Hauck, *PRE*, 12, p. 437.

one of the most pressing practical problems of the Apostolic Age—the admission of the Gentiles into the Church.

Special features of this theory have frequently been separately adopted, as when Ambrose, and many since, see in Ruth the type of the call of the Gentiles into the Church; and as Nicolaus de Lyra and Bengel recognize that the common characteristic of the whole group is that all were by *casu quodam singulari* joined to the descendants and heirs of Abraham. Von Soden, too, in his article on the genealogies of Jesus in the *Enc. Biblica* suggests that the interest of Christians in Ruth and Rahab is due to the fact that they were heathen. A. Lapiere most definitely argues that the extraordinary mode by which the four were joined to their husbands is a type of the novel vocation of a church from among the Gentiles. But ordinarily there is failure to connect all four with heathenism. Oftener there is, as with Grotius, a confusing mixture of this theory with the theories of types of sin and of Mary, and seldom has been recognized the Evangelist's apologetic aim in bringing the history of the four into direct relation with the movements of the Apostolic Age.

It may then be maintained that the Evangelist was interested in all the group on account of their connection with heathenism. In addition to Ruth and Rahab, he likewise presumably regarded Tamar as a heathen, a Canaanite. Apart from modern writers who deem her a heathen either in connection with their eponymous theory of Gen. 38 or with their Astral religion theory, representative writers in all schools of criticism find in this chapter indications that she was a Canaanite: Delitzsch and Gunkel in their commentaries, and Curtis in *HBD*, ii. 125 *b*; Driver stating that she is presumably a Canaanite, and Skinner's discussion also implying that she was such. What is so evident to these scholars on reading the Old Testament page was in all probability equally evident to the Evangelist. He may possibly know also the Jewish tradition of David being taunted with descent from Tamar and Ruth, which implies the heathenism of both. The one piece of contrary evidence really points

to Tamar's heathenism. For the assertion in the Jubilees<sup>15</sup> and Testaments of the XII Patriarchs,<sup>16</sup> that she was an Aramean, is a sheer invention that was found to be necessary by the Pharisaic authors in the period of intense Jewish particularism, in order to foster their doctrine of the duty of separation from all Gentile relations.

If, then, three of the women are regarded as Gentiles, there is some antecedent probability that Bathsheba was grouped with them in the Evangelist's view either of her Gentile origin or association. Passing over, however, occasional claims of Old Testament indications that she was a foreign woman, the Evangelist's avoidance of her name, and instead of it his description of her as the wife of Uriah, *i.e.* the Hittite, associates her in any case with a man of heathen blood, and in view of this association he may not unreasonably have grouped her with the three women who were undoubtedly heathen.

If this view of their heathenism merits consideration, then their unexpected admission to Israel's highest privileges admirably serves the writer's recognized purpose in advocating the universalism of the gospel, or, to adopt Allen's suggestive sub-title for our Matthew, in showing the gospel to be "the power of God unto salvation—to the Jew first and also to the Greek."<sup>17</sup> It is not strange that he should begin the realization of this purpose in the opening verses of his genealogy, when we find that the genealogy and birth are followed by the homage of the heathen Magi and by the return from Egypt to half-heathen Galilee; that he records the Baptist's declaration of God's ability to raise up descendants of Abraham from the stones of the Jordan; and so on and on from Christ's praise of the faith of the heathen cen-

<sup>15</sup> 41. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Judah*, 10.

<sup>17</sup> Cp. Nicolardot, p. 112: "Son regard se meut, à l'aise, des lointains mosaïques à la conclusion des temps; des bourgades de Galilée jusqu'aux bornes du monde. Il n'a pas inventé l'universalisme chrétien, mais il l'a aimé et compris. Il l'a justifié même, par tout son œuvre, en montrant, dans l'apostolat de toutes les nations, l'expansion nécessaire d'un mouvement libérateur, que la Judée, trop étroite, trop fermée, ne pouvait désormais capter ni contenir."



turion and of the Syro-phœnician woman, and his prophecy of the many from the east and west reclining with the patriarchs in the kingdom, and his favorable declarations concerning heathen Sodom and Gomorrah, Tyre and Sidon and Nineveh, as contrasted with the Jewish cities of his own time; and from the closing parables of the extension of the kingdom beyond Israel to the climax in the commission to make disciples of all nations.

This theory of our Matthew's advocacy of universalism by pointing to the history of the four Old Testament women might be further supported by a detailed comparison in the rest of the New Testament of the related methods of treating the subject; of the similar lines of reasoning; and in some cases of the very close parallels of illustration. The universalism of Rom. 9-11 likewise begins with a genealogical reference. In the first generation of descent from Abraham even the line of direct inheritance is shown to be not according to flesh; and in the second generation is seen to be not according to works, but according to the free election of God who calls both Jews and Gentiles in fulfillment of the very bold Old Testament predictions of heathen admission and engrafting into God's Israel. We have also in James and Hebrews the similar use of the history of Abraham and of Rahab to express the truth of the equal justification of the Father of the Faithful and of the Gentile sinner. A complete comparative study of all the New Testament treatment of the topics of Gentile admission into the kingdom would enable us to discriminate with considerable accuracy both the definite stages of their admission, and also of the historic and logical development of the relevant New Testament teaching. The result of such study would clearly contribute to the dating of several New Testament writings. Even the character of the Evangelist's reference to the women, on the view advocated, might be a factor in determining the stage of universalism represented in our First Gospel, and thereby contribute to the discussion of its early date recently advocated by Harnack and Allen.

The theory proposed must at present be submitted with-

out this detailed discussion, but with the closing reminder that in its favor is the fact that it includes and organizes the elements of truth in the other theories. These Old Testament instances of Gentile incorporation are sinners or idolaters in so far as being Gentiles they are stained with what to the Jews are the characteristic and representative sins of the Gentiles. They have become sharers in the Messianic hope, not as types of Mary, but as historic instances of God's eternal purpose to call all nations. They are *skandala* in the Old Testament history, not as types of the *skandalon* of the Virgin Birth, but as illuminations of what at first was the *skandalon* of Gentile admission to the Church, but was at length seen to be the mystery of the gospel—that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, concorporate and co-sharers of the promise in Christ Jesus by the gospel.

## The Relation of Mark to the Source Q

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A Reply to Mr. B. H. Streeter's Paper in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*

MANY years ago Bernard Weiss presented his view that the evangelist Mark was dependent on an *Apostolic Source* which corresponds roughly to what is designated now the Source Q. For a long time this theory was very slow in winning support, but surely it is gaining adherents rapidly enough to-day. From all quarters they come. Dr. Stanton's recent protest is being drowned in a chorus of assent. The *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, published last year, is the latest addition to the cohorts on Dr. Weiss's side. Mr. N. P. Williams in his paper goes so far as to say that in a general sense the use of Q by the author or final redactor of Mark seems to be now well established. Mr. B. H. Streeter contributes a discussion of the problem which Dr. Sanday regards as "compelling assent." It was difficult to argue with the earlier champions of Mark's use of Q without raising the whole problem of what is meant by the Source Q. Mr. Streeter, however, accepts the very definition of Q which those who oppose this theory have held, "the mass of material common to Matthew and Luke not derivable from Mark." Although he denies any further assumptions in the beginning, he concludes by defining Q as a "single written source." The whole argument shows that he means a source written in Greek. Mr. Streeter attempts to prove that in certain passages where Matthew and Luke evidently had access to a version other than that contained in Mark—where in a word Mark and Q overlapped—"the Q version is not an expansion of the Mark version, but Mark may well



be a mutilation of Q." This certainly strikes at the heart of the problem, and if he has carried his point, then, as Dr. Sanday says, his paper compels assent. But has he done so? I should like to present a few considerations on the other side.

There is at least one case where the two versions overlap, but where the difference is so fundamental that Mr. Streeter makes it an exception. Mark's most extended discourse, ch. 13, he grants, is not derived from Q, but from some apocalypse written about 70 A.D. This judgment has an important bearing on the whole relationship of the two sources. It shows that in their eschatological outlook Mark and Q were radically different. The former shared the apocalyptic hopes of the author of Revelation, the latter condemned all seeking for apocalyptic signs and taught that the future coming of the Lord would be without warning of any sort. If Mark knew Q, he at least abandoned its eschatology. Only the extreme advocates of the eschatological school will deny that Q rather than Mark presents Jesus' own teaching regarding the future. That some trace of this attitude survives in Mk. 13 34-36 is therefore no reason for affirming that Mark is to that extent dependent on Q. Two independent versions of the same saying could hardly be expected to show greater variation than do Mk. 13 34-36 and Lk. 12 37-40 = Mt. 24 42-44. One can only wonder whether they are the same saying at all.<sup>1</sup>

Another passage in which the evidence is clear that Matthew and Luke have a non-Marcian Greek source is the Beelzebub controversy in Mt. 12 22-32 = Lk. 11 14-23. Comparing this Q version with Mk. 3 22-30, Mr. Streeter says that Mark "has such close verbal resemblances in what it has in common with Q, and loses so much force by what it omits from Q that we can only regard it as a mutilated excerpt from that source." It is easy to see how one might come to such a conclusion by simply comparing Mk. 3 22-30 with Mt. 12

<sup>1</sup> The reminiscence of the parable of the talents which Mr. Streeter finds especially in the use of ἀποδῆμος loses all weight when one notes that Mark himself used ἀποδῆμῶ only a little before in 12 1.

22-32, but before any such comparison with Mark is made, Matthew and Luke must first be examined to see what stood in their source Q. Fortunately, it is unnecessary for me to make this literary examination here. Between the same covers with Mr. Streeter's article is another by Sir John Hawkins, in which, with his usual thoroughness and caution, he discusses this very passage, pp. 45-49. I quote his concluding paragraph:

"These eight observations combine to prove almost irresistibly that Matthew conflated his record of this discourse from two sources, which we have substantially before us in our Luke and Mark. And the insignificance of the only three resemblances which could be found between these two latter, and between them only, *shows with almost equal cogency that up to the time of the employment of them by Matthew, they had been quite independent of one another*, though they embody traditions either of the same controversy or at least of the same class of controversies."

The literary argument against Mr. Streeter's position cannot be put in a more forcible way than Sir John Hawkins has put it, but his discussion needs to be reënforced by a statement of the radical difference in the development of thought. So fundamental is this difference that Dr. Von Soden maintained, in a lecture on this subject, that two different events are here narrated. The charge itself is not the same. In Mark, Jesus is accused of being a demoniac possessed with Beelzebul, in Q it is only said that he drives out demons by the power of Beelzebul. The first argument of Jesus in reply is substantially the same in both, but the presentation very different in form. The second argument of Q is not found in Mark. The third argument shows a striking variation in the two versions. Q's presentation makes the *ἰσχυρότερος αὐτοῦ* God. The Kingdom of God is contrasted with that of Beelzebul. In Mark, as we should expect from the form of the charge in 3 22, it is Christ who is opposed to Beelzebul. Q concludes its account with the parable of the seven other spirits, Mark with the saying about the unforgivable sin. This Marcan saying, 3 28-30, has its parallel in Lk. 12 10, Q. Must not the divergence between

the two versions here — Mark has *sons of men* where Q has the *Son of Man* — go back to a different understanding of a common Aramaic text or tradition? Where the difference is so great as it is here, the use of a common tradition is more probable than a mere translation change. At any rate, there is no possible reason for thinking that Mark is dependent on the Greek Q. As in the case of the two versions of Jesus' eschatological message, so again in the accounts of this Beelzebub controversy, there is a deep-seated divergence which strengthens our conviction that Mark and Q give two independent embodiments of early apostolic tradition.

Another illustration of this independence occurs in Mk. 8 11-13. To my mind there is a real difficulty in supposing that Mark would have given this saying in its absolute form if he were dependent on the statement in Q, Mt. 12 38 f. = Lk. 11 29 f.

Again let me call attention to Mark's summary of the temptation in 1 12. 13. It implies, no doubt, a knowledge of more than is told; but when one considers how much divergence from Mt. 4 1-11 = Lk. 4 1-13, Q, is compressed into these two verses, he is not likely to attribute this knowledge to the use of that source. First, Mark speaks of the temptation as continuous through the forty days. Q, on the other hand, places it at their close.<sup>2</sup> Mark's reference to being with wild beasts is, as Prof. B. W. Bacon points out, paralleled in Ps. 91 13, the same Psalm which is quoted in Mt. 4 6. But we note that it is in a verse of that Psalm not given by Q and nowhere implied in Q's account. Furthermore, Ps. 91 11. 12 is used in opposite ways in the two versions. The ministering of angels is a temptation in Q which Jesus repels, in Mark it is apparently the indication of his conquest. Surely Q's account did not lie before Mark, but some other detailed version probably did, one in which we may conjecture the 91st Psalm had a larger place. This implies, of course, that behind both accounts is a real historical tradition and not a mere invention of Q.

In these four sections, ch. 13, 3 22-30, 8 11-13, 1 12. 13, we have

<sup>2</sup> Lk. 4 2 conflates both sources. Mt. 4 11 b is also a conflation.



found not only a want of evidence for any literary relationship, but a striking divergence in thought. Here, at least, a theory of dependence has no standing ground. If now Mark had the temptation narrative, the account of the Beelzebub controversy, the report of a demand for signs, and the eschatological message in a form independent of Q, is it not fair to presume that the same will be true in the case of the other points of contact, unless clear proof to the contrary is given?

In no case is the close relation between the two sources more impressive than in the parable of the mustard seed. Sir John Hawkins (p. 51) again points out that Matthew conflates the two sources which are preserved to us by Mark and Luke. A careful comparison of Mark and Q shows noteworthy differences even here. Mark emphasizes the mustard being the smallest of seeds. Q speaks of its becoming a tree upon whose branches the birds can rest. It may be, as Dr. Von Soden has suggested, that their variation is due to familiarity with different varieties of mustard. On the other hand, there are verbal resemblances which command attention. According to the best texts *τὰ πτερινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* occurs only here in Mark, but is found elsewhere in Q. The double question with which both Luke and Mark introduce the parable would have weight if we could be more confident that it stood in Q. It occurs also in Lk. 7:31, but there again the parallel account in Matthew omits it. Still it ought to be allowed that we have in the two versions of this parable some verbal similarity.

There is one other extended passage, which can serve as a basis of comparison, the commission to the disciples, Mk. 6:7-11, Mt. 10:1-14, Lk. 9:1-5, 10:1-12. The same line of reasoning which Sir John Hawkins applied to the Beelzebub controversy makes it clear that here again Lk. 10:1-12 preserves most nearly the original form of Q.<sup>3</sup> In this case there is no obvious difference of point of view between the two sources. Q did indeed contain substantially

<sup>3</sup> The introductory setting in 10:1 and the addition in 10:5f. are doubtful, and one can easily see why Luke should have omitted Mt. 10:5-6, if they stood in his source.

all that Mark gives, as Mr. Streeter says. But when he adds "in much the same language," a protest must be made. He bases his statement not on Lk. 10 1-12, but on coincident variations of Lk. 9 1 and Mt. 10 1 from Mk. 6 7, and of Lk. 9 5 and Mt. 10 14 from Mk. 6 11. Fortunately, in Mt. 10 1 = Lk. 9 1 it can be shown that the coincident variation must have some other explanation than a common use of Q. That Mt. 9 37. 38 are taken from Q is guaranteed by Lk. 10 2. But *καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητὰς*, Mt. 10 1, is explicable after *τότε λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς*, 9 37, only when we recognize that Matthew is here passing from his source Q to his source Mark. The coincident variations from Mark in Mt. 10 1 ff. and Lk. 9 1-5 cannot be regarded as evidence for a common use of Q, except when they are supported by Lk. 10 1-12. They are on a par with those found elsewhere in Marcan material, and are to be explained in the same way. All verbal resemblance between the two sources then disappears, and at the same time all basis for theories of dependence of Mark on Q.

Besides the more extended passages in which Mark and Q overlap, there are a number of brief, scattered sayings, found in them both. The following list gives the sayings in Mark and the parallels of Matthew and Luke which may belong to Q:

1. Mk. 4 21	Mt. 5 15	Lk. 11 33
2. Mk. 4 22	Mt. 10 26 f.	Lk. 12 2 f.
3. Mk. 4 24	Mt. 7 2	Lk. 6 38
4. Mk. 4 25	Mt. 25 29	Lk. 19 26
5. Mk. 8 34	Mt. 10 38	Lk. 14 27
6. Mk. 8 35	Mt. 10 39	Lk. 17 33
7. Mk. 8 38	Mt. 10 33	Lk. 12 8. 9
8. Mk. 9 35	Mt. 23 11	Lk. 22 26
9. Mk. 9 37	Mt. 10 40	Lk. 10 16
10. Mk. 9 42	Mt. 18 6. 7	Lk. 17 1. 2
11. Mk. 9 49, 50	Mt. 5 13	Lk. 14 34, 35
12. Mk. 10 10-12	Mt. 5 32	Lk. 16 18
13. Mk. 10 31	Mt. 20 16	Lk. 13 30
14. Mk. 11 23	Mt. 17 20	Lk. 17 5. 6
15. Mk. 11 25	Mt. 6 12	Lk. 11 4
16. Mk. 12 28	Mt. 22 34 f.	Lk. 10 25
17. Mk. 12 38. 39	Mt. 23 6. 7	Lk. 11 43
18. Mk. 13 11	Mt. 10 19, 20	Lk. 12 11. 12

Thus summed up, this may seem to be a formidable array of evidence, but closer examination removes much of its cogency. Many of these sayings are of such a proverbial nature as to be of little value in determining written sources. In fact, Nos. 4 and 5 each occur five times in the Gospels, No. 6 occurs six times. Again, the differences are sometimes more striking than the resemblances. In Nos. 2, 7, 15, the difference between Mark and Q is so great as to point the argument against the dependence of one on the other. In Nos. 6, 8, 11, the parallels in Matthew and Luke differ so widely that it is hard to tell what, if anything, stood in Q. What verbal resemblance there is between Mark and Matthew in Nos. 9, 14, 18, is due to the influence of Mark on Matthew. It is not supported by Luke. Regarding No. 3, it is an unnatural, artificial hypothesis to say with Mr. Streeter that Mk. 4:24 is a conflation of Lk. 6:38 and 12:31. The fact that the parallels in Mt. 6:33 and 7:2 are near together does not help in the least, unless Matthew's sequence be accepted as that of Q. This, Mr. Streeter himself denies in his refutation of Harnack, pp. 160 ff. That No. 16 stood in Q is a very doubtful conjecture, but it is included here for the sake of completeness. Speaking of No. 17, Mr. Streeter says that Mk. 12:38-40 "looks like a reminiscence of the long denunciation in Q." But what are the facts? Mk. 12:38-40 consists of two charges, one of which, 12:40, is not found in Q at all, and the other Mark gives in a distinctive, expanded form.

The evidence from these scattered passages narrows down to this—that Mark and Q had in common a number of sayings substantially alike. No direct relationship has been established in these passages, except on the assumption which Dr. Stanton has condemned, that any sayings in substance the same must have come from the same Greek document. To this list of parallel sayings ought perhaps to be added Mk. 1:7, 8, Mt. 3:11, Lk. 3:16. That this stood in both Mark and Q should be granted, but it ought also to be remembered that this is the one message of the Baptist which would deeply concern all Christians from the beginning. Just how



great was the difference between Mark and Q here, we can no longer measure on account of the influence of Mark on Matthew and Luke. It is at least possible that while Mark spoke of a baptism with the spirit, Q spoke only of a baptism with fire. Mark's description of John the Baptist (Mk. 1 1-6) is, in truth, consistent with what Q tells about John, and his account is brief and condensed, as Mr. Streeter says. But is this reason for thinking that he must have known Q?

A word ought to be added about another class of passages which is well represented by Mk. 9 43-48. Matthew gives this saying twice. It is common to explain the doublet by assigning Mt. 5 29, 30 to Q. An outstanding objection to such an explanation is the improbability that Luke would omit this saying if it stood in both of his main sources. Moreover, it must be recognized that the occurrence of doublets in Matthew is no proof of the presence of two sources. Sir John Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 81 ff., states the possibility of the occasional use of the same source twice over in Matthew, but he does not develop the suggestion. The situation of Mk. 3 7-12 is not merely given in Mt. 12 15-21; it is also anticipated in Mt. 4 23-25. In this case there can hardly be any question of different sources. Even so, in the introduction to the sending out of the twelve, 9 35, 36, Matthew has repeated what he had in 4 23 = Mk. 1 39, and anticipated Mk. 6 34, which is given again in its Marcan context, 14 14. In these instances no looking through Mark and copying of these passages is to be supposed. The First Gospel shows a mastery of its material which makes any such supposition unnecessary. Mr. Streeter is certainly right when he says that Matthew knew his sources almost by heart.

A similar case occurs in 10 40. Familiar with the form of this saying in Mk. 9 37, he preferred that to the Q version of the same saying, Lk. 10 16, and thus anticipated what needed to be repeated in 18 5 = Mk. 9 37. Sir John Hawkins has proposed a similar explanation of the doublets 12 33-37 and 7 16 ff. The theory of separate sources, in this instance, is made particularly improbable by the fact that 12 33-37, and not 7 16 ff., stands in the closest verbal relation to Lk. 6 43 ff.

So, also, Mt. 11 24 repeats 10 15. This repetition is due, no doubt, to the fact that Matthew has separated two Q passages which originally stood together. Sir John Hawkins is probably right in explaining Mt. 9 32-34 = Mt. 12 22-24, in the same way.

With these examples before us, surely we are justified in preferring to believe that Matthew has used Mk. 9 43 ff. twice over, adapting it to the different contexts, rather than to suppose that Luke omitted a passage which stood in his two principal sources. We must remember that Matthew was concerned in making his great discourses as complete as possible. To that end he was willing to sacrifice much narrative material, and to repeat sayings already used.

This point has been set forth in some detail because it explains another passage often used as a basis for theories of Mark's dependence on Q. I refer to Mt. 10 17-22 (23?). This did not stand in Q at all. It is an anticipation of Mk. 13 9 b-13 which is repeated freely in 24 9-14. The following table makes this clear:

Mt. 9 37-10 16	Mk. 6 6 b-13	and Lk. 10 1-12
Mt. 10 17-22 (23?)	Mk. 13 9 b-13	
Mt. 10 (24. 25) 26-33		Lk. 12 2-9
Mt. 10 34-36		Lk. 12 51-53
Mt. 10 37, 38		Lk. 14 25-27
(Mt. 10 39)		Lk. 17 33)

Mr. Streeter himself (pp. 160 ff.) has pointed out that in ch. 10 Matthew read through Q for sayings that belonged under this theme and put them down one by one as he came across them without rearrangement. It ought to be recognized that he used Mark in the same way, adding Mk. 13 9 b-13 after Mk. 6 6 b-11. Mt. 10 23 may well have stood in Matthew's text of Mark and been omitted afterwards. One sentence only of this passage had a parallel in Q, Mk. 13 11 = Lk. 12 11. 12. Accordingly Matthew omitted this verse at the close of Lk. 10 2-12 because he had already used its equivalent from Mark. If I have given a correct presentation of Matthew's method, one of the strong arguments for Mark's use of Q loses its force.

A word now in conclusion. We found in a number of the passages in which Mark and Q overlap a difference so deep-seated as to argue against any dependence of one on the other. We found no instance where the resemblance is so close as to be inconsistent with the independence of the two traditions, nor has Mr. Streeter shown such an instance. The only assumption which needs to be made is that we have to do here with real sayings of Jesus, and that in 75 A.D. all knowledge of these sayings was not limited to one Greek document. For these reasons I cannot accept the Q.E.D. with which Dr. Sanday has stamped Mr. Streeter's paper, and I ask for a reconsideration. Mr. Streeter's attempt makes it clear — does it not? — that the burden of the argument for a dependence of Mark on Q must rest where Bernhard Weiss put it, on the coincident variations of Matthew and Luke in distinctively Marcan material. It was interesting to see how Mr. Streeter fell back on the same line of approach as in his use of Lk. 9 1-5 and of Mk. 1 2 f. When, with the majority of modern scholars, this argument is rejected or at least minimized, the whole case loses its cogency. The points of contact between Mark and Q which can be clearly traced do not show a dependence of the former on the latter. Such dependence does confessedly become more plausible when an Aramaic original of Q is substituted for the Greek manuscript. In nearly every case the Q form of the tradition seems more primitive and original than that of Mark. Wellhausen's attempt to reverse the relationship was a failure. It is this that gives force to such discussions as those of B. W. Bacon, Wendling, and Nicolardot, in which they try to show how the latter version grew out of the former. But granting that in many cases Mark is secondary in relation to Q, even granting that Mark used written sources for this material, it does not follow that he used Q. The two sources are so fundamentally different, the material they both give is so manifestly a part of the common heritage in those early days of oral tradition when written records were just beginning to be made, that any direct relation between the sources seems improbable.



## The Vocabulary of Luke and Acts

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IT would seem as though almost every possible experiment and investigation as to the relations between Acts and the Gospel of Luke must have been made, but the statistics of Lucan vocabulary seem never to have been minutely and comprehensively dealt with. Such aspects of New Testament vocabulary have not indeed been wholly neglected, although not all that has been claimed in this direction has actually been accomplished. Nestle in his Introduction (Edie's translation, 1901), p. 48, says, "Graux has counted not only the words but the letters in the various books." But the references Nestle gives in support of this statement (*Revue de Philologie*, ii., and Zahn, *Geschichte*, i., 76) do not even suggest that Graux counted the words, and show that his count of letters laid no claim to precision: "comptons, avec une approximation suffisante, le nombre des lettres," p. 98; "Évangile selon St. Mathieu calculé à 89,295 lettres" (p. 118), and similarly of the other books of the New Testament. Nestle's remark would seem to be doubly misleading. His reference to the statistics given in Schaff's *Companion*, pp. 57, 176, is open to the same criticism, for Professor Schaff does not claim to have counted the number of words in the Synoptic Gospels, but only to have estimated them. A more accurate statement on the matter is found in M. W. Adams's monograph on St. Paul's Vocabulary (Hartford, 1895), p. 28, where statistics are given compiled by J. Ritchie Smith (*Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Oct., 1891). Mr. Smith's figures, which seem to be exclusive of proper names, are as follows:

	WHOLE NUMBER	TOTAL VOCABULARY	PECULIAR WORDS
Luke	35,239	2697	715
Paul	31,457	2446	797
John	27,185	1396	212
Matthew	17,921	1542	111
Mark	10,720	1259	77

These figures of Mr. Smith's seem to be the results of counts, not of estimates, and are of some weight for that reason. They are disappointing to the critical student, however, because they do not distinguish between Luke and Acts, between the pastorals and the ten letters of the primary Pauline canon, or even between the Revelation and the Fourth Gospel.

With the generous aid of my friend, Rev. A. R. Stark, Ph.D., I have recently undertaken a modest experiment in the study of Lucan vocabulary, our premise being that if Acts and the Third Gospel are from the same hand they should exhibit a considerable common base of vocabulary. Our statistics are made up from a careful page-by-page examination of Geden's *Concordance*, which we have treated as a somewhat objective standard. We have, however, added *καί* and *δέ*, disregarded different forms of the same word, and different uses of it (*e.g.* *εἰ μὴ*, *οὐ μὴ*), and we have included proper names. While our figures represent repeated recounts, we present them not as final, since there is room for wide difference of view as to what constitutes a word, but as on the whole presenting a fair proportionate view of the vocabulary phenomena of Acts and Luke's Gospel.

The Gospel of Luke contains 2080 different words, Acts 2054. Luke and Acts use in common 1014. A further count, strictly unnecessary, but undertaken as a partial check upon the first, shows the total vocabulary of Luke and Acts together (including every word used in either or both) to be 3120 (Mr. Smith's figure, 2697, is exclusive of proper names). Nearly half the words in Luke are thus shared with Acts, and nearly half those in Acts are common to Luke.

It is natural to inquire whether this is a large proportion of common vocabulary, or whether any other document might not relate itself to Acts much as Luke has done in this par-

ticular. To satisfy ourselves on this point we have chosen the Gospel of Matthew, a document of very little less extent than Luke (68 pp. in Westcott-Hort, as against 72), dealing with the same general matters, and based largely upon the same sources with Luke. We find that Matthew has a vocabulary of 1711 words, of which 845 are common to Acts.

Luke exhibits	2080	different words
Acts     "	2054	"     "
Luke and Acts share	1014	"     "
Luke or Acts or both exhibit	3120	"     "
Matthew exhibits	1711	"     "
Matthew and Acts share	845	"     "

The first impression of these figures is perhaps disappointing. Irrespective of any theory of the relation of Luke and Acts, based on other considerations, a more decided showing in one direction or another might have been hoped for. But it appears that Matthew, like Luke, shares slightly less than half its vocabulary with Acts. In this aspect the inquiry is not particularly suggestive. Upon closer inspection, however, it appears that Luke is much nearer Acts than is Matthew in the range of its vocabulary. It does not essentially reduce the force of this to recall that much of this excess of vocabulary is proper names, for a large use of proper names is as individual a characteristic as a large use of common nouns. One man in telling a story will give no names, another will name everybody. It is worth noticing, further, that while the common vocabulary base of Matthew and Acts is 845, that of Luke and Acts is 1014, or 20 per cent larger. From both points of view, therefore, these results tend to ally Luke with Acts in actual vocabulary exhibited.

But whatever inferences may be drawn from them, and of course no large claims are to be made for the argument from mere range and identity of vocabulary, unsupported by other facts, these figures are offered here as a contribution to the materials of Lucan criticism, and with the hope that, if they are not sufficient to justify any very striking generalizations, they may at least prevent unguarded ones on the matter of Lucan vocabulary.



## Some Phases of the Synoptic Problem

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IN his volume on "The Sayings of Jesus," Harnack remarks that "if the criticism of the Gospels had been carried on methodically, so that each author stood, as it were, upon the shoulders of his predecessor, this cardinal problem"—the literary relationship of Q to St. Mark—"would necessarily have been thoroughly discussed long ago, the whole material for discussion would have been set in order and the definite and final conclusion would have been drawn." No doubt there is occasion enough to regret that in this and in other fields scholars have not thus moved forward step by step, but have both turned back to do amiss the things that were already well done, and even more frequently rushed ahead to do last things first. Yet in the face of Harnack's warning and of the danger of repeating the first of these two mistakes, I am constrained at this time to inquire whether the fundamental questions of the Synoptic Problem have been so fully and finally settled that the accepted answers can be unquestioningly used as the basis of further work, and whether in particular the accepted doctrine does not perhaps tend to ignore some data which are nearly or quite as important as those which have received much more attention.

I must at the outset, however, disclaim any purpose to undertake a thorough discussion of the Synoptic Problem, or to bring forward any revolutionary theory. I am in agreement with the current view in recognizing the depend-

ence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark, and immediately or ultimately upon at least one other common source. Most of what I shall have to say, moreover, in the direction of further defining or supplementing the current view, has already been said at one time or another. My task is, therefore, the humble and simple one of directing fresh attention to certain quite obvious facts respecting the Synoptic Gospels and making some not altogether new suggestions respecting the wisdom of reconsidering certain commonly accepted theses, and perhaps of modifying somewhat the customary way of approaching our problem.

The questions that I wish particularly to raise are, *first*, whether, the dependence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark being accepted, the second common source of the gospels is entitled to the place of preëminence which is commonly given to it, whether, in fact, there was not at least one other source which was of equal or almost equal importance with that which is now commonly called Q; *second*, whether, in the determination of the contents of the non-Marcan common source, the criterion of presence of material in both the first and third gospels has not usually been given undue weight; *third*, whether it is not possible to discover two common sources rather than one, with at least approximate definition of the content of each; and *fourth*, whether the matter of the sources of the immediate sources of our synoptic gospels does not demand even more attention than it has received: in other words, whether there is not reason to affirm, and whether it would not facilitate further study of the Synoptic Problem to recognize that our present gospels of Matthew and Luke represent not the second, but at least the third generation of gospel writings, and that accordingly our task of investigation falls into two clearly defined stages, *first*, the discovery of the immediate ancestors of the present gospels, and *then* the search for the sources of the former.

In the endeavor to throw some light upon these questions, the method of approach which most commends itself to me is by way of observation of the way in which Matthew and Luke make use of their common source Mark. In this case

we have both the original material, approximately at least in its original form, and the finished product. Comparison of these with one another cannot fail to disclose some facts at least respecting the method of work of the two later evangelists. And the insight thus gained into their two workshops ought to be of value to us in the endeavor to discover the other material with which they worked, but which exists for us only as an element of their finished products. Moreover, in so far as we are able from the practically identical portions of Matthew and Luke to restore a second common source of the gospels, we may, in a measure, use the same method in reference to this as in respect to Mark, and so still further add to our knowledge of the methods which the evangelists severally followed. In this study of method, matters intrinsically of little importance may be of great value. In fact, the more we keep clear at the outset of such important matters as the doctrinal tendency and specific purpose of the gospels, the more likely perhaps are we to get a clear view of the way in which our authors handled their material. Order of arrangement is, of course, of far less importance for certain purposes, as *e.g.* the history of doctrine, than doctrinal color, whether of sources or of resultant gospels. But as a clue to lead us into the literary method of the evangelists, and so eventually to the literary process by which our gospels were produced, it may be even safer to follow and in the end more valuable than considerations of doctrinal tendency; the latter indeed are rather to be arrived at as the result of our process than used as criteria at the beginning.

To begin then with some elementary and perfectly familiar matters:—

1. If it be granted that Mark, either in its present form or with approximately similar content, was a source of Matthew and Luke, it is also evident *first* that they had one or more non-Marcian sources in common, and *second* that each of them used some material either not accessible to the other or neglected by the other.

2. Respecting the method in which Matthew and Luke



severally used these sources, the following propositions may be regarded as established with a high degree of probability.

*a.* Luke has a strong predilection for following the order of his documents. The presumption, which may of course be overcome by sufficient counter evidence, is that the order of Luke is approximately the order of his sources.

*b.* Matthew is less careful to follow the order of his sources. He does not hesitate to sacrifice that order to a topical arrangement of his own.

*c.* Luke is averse to the inclusion of similar narratives which are open to the suspicion of being duplicate accounts of the same event.

*d.* Matthew is less averse to duplication, but on the other hand has a tendency to condense narratives, and to omit or shorten narrative introductions to discourse material.

*e.* Neither evangelist hesitates to modify the language of his source to improve its literary quality, or to make it give a representation of Jesus more in accordance with the evangelist's ideal of his character and teaching. Yet the degree of similarity that exists between the Matthean and Lucan reports of the teaching of Jesus, whether derived from Mark or from the common source, makes it improbable that either of them would depart very widely either in substance or in literary form, except in the matter of order, from the source before him. A large measure of difference between single literary units presumably originally identical, say the narrative of an event or a parable, creates a probability that the authors dealt with different sources which themselves had a common source, documentary or real.

3. If these positions are reasonable, it follows that for those narratives and teachings which are common to Matthew and Luke, and sufficiently alike to make it probable that they came immediately from the same source, there is no more probable arrangement than that in which they appear in Luke, and that wide diversity in form, especially if accompanied by difference of position, points not to identity but to non-identity of immediate source.

Now it happens that the material in Luke which is also to

be found in Matthew, but which does not come from Mark, is found with very slight exception, if any, between 3 1 and 19 28. If the principle above stated is correct, the presumption is that all the non-Marcian material which appears in Lk. 3 1-19 28, and is also found in Matthew, whether in corresponding or different position, stood in the source in the Lucan order. The first step, therefore, toward obtaining the non-Marcian source of Matthew and Luke is simply to omit the Marcian material from Lk. 3 1-19 28.<sup>1</sup>

A very noticeable fact respecting this material is that it appears in Luke in large blocks. Especially noteworthy is the Mark-free character of the material from 9 51-19 28. Mark, chap. 10, is manifestly the source of 18 15-43. But with this exception the only parallels to Mark in the ten chapters of Lk. 9 51-19 28 are a portion of the passage concerning casting out demons by Beelzebul, the parable of the mustard seed, and a few short aphorisms,—35 verses in all according to Sir John Hawkins. The attempt to set apart the non-Marcian material in the corresponding chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, viz., 3-20, issues in a very different result. Instead of its occurring in a few large blocks, it is found in some 40 separate pieces, of which the only ones that reach or exceed the length of a chapter are those in the sermon on the mount and the eleventh chapter.<sup>2</sup>

This difference between Matthew and Luke, the former breaking up and the latter massing the material taken over from the sources,—for in a measure this difference holds in the case of material taken from Mark also,—is further evidence that it is Luke rather than Matthew who has followed the order of the non-Marcian source, as he manifestly has

<sup>1</sup> This would yield substantially the following: 3 1. 2. 7-15. 17. 18. 23-33, 4 2 b-30, 5 1-11, 6 20-8 3, 9 51-18 14, 19 1-28.

<sup>2</sup> The list is as follows: 3 7-10. 12. 14. 15, 4 3-11. 13-16, 5 1-28, 5 31-6 14, 6 16-7 27, 8 5-13. 19-22, 9 37. 38, 10 6-8 b. 12. 13. 15. 16. 23-25. 27-32, 11 1-30, 12 5-7. 11. 12. 17-25 a. 27. 28. 30. 33-45, 13 14-17. 24-30. 35-53, 14 28-31. 33, 15 12-14. 23. 24. 30. 31, 16 17-19, 17 6. 7. 13. 24-27, 18 4. 10. 15-34, 19 10-12. 27 b. 28, 20 1-16. But very short Marcian passages occurring in the midst of passages included in this list, and very short non-Marcian passages occurring between them have been ignored, thus in both cases diminishing the *number* of separate non-Marcian passages.

that of Mark. For an author who breaks up a source to interpolate it into another document will easily, of course, depart from the order in the process of interpolation; but an author who retains his material in large blocks will be unlikely to transpose sections within the limits of those blocks. That he might transpose even in the latter case under the influence of a desire to secure a topical or logical or even a chronological order is of course true. But this consideration only strengthens the argument in favor of believing that it is Luke and not Matthew who has preserved the order of their common source or sources; for it is impossible to discover in Luke's great interpolation any intention to arrange matters in a topical order, or to improve the chronology of the source, while it is transparently evident that Matthew is influenced by an effort after topical arrangement in the location of practically all the material which he has in common with Luke's non-Marcian source.

There is still further evidence of Luke's respect for the order of his source document in his way of making use of that document, whatever it was, which he used alongside of Mark, as a source for his 3 1-9 50. While the narratives common to Mark and Luke are almost without exception in the same order in both gospels, on the other hand, in those instances in which Luke omits Mark's account of an event and uses one drawn mainly from a different source, he also gives it a different position. The narratives of the Calling of the Four, and of the Rejection at Nazareth, illustrate this point. The simplest explanation of this changed position is that Luke is following the order of the source from which the preferred account is drawn.

4. But let this suffice for questions of order. Consider again the material in Lk. 3 1-19 28, and in the corresponding portion of Matthew, viz., chaps. 3-20, with reference to the non-Marcian source, or sources. In Lk. 3 1-19 28 is to be found all the material (except perhaps 22 28-30) which Matthew and Luke derived from their non-Marcian common source, or sources. But here is also considerable non-Marcian material, which is not common because not used by Matthew,



and in Matthew, chaps. 3-20, there is a considerable amount of material not used by Luke. These facts obviously raise two questions. *First*, Has Luke omitted anything from the common source which Matthew used? If so, this would account for the material peculiar to Matthew. *Second*, Has Luke, or some one preceding him, added something to the common source? If so, this would account for Matthew's omission of material included in Luke; in other words, for Luke's peculiar material. But an inspection of Lk. 3 1-19 28 also raises a third question. Has Luke combined two or more sources, not by mutual interpolation, but by placing them in succession?

a. The last question may best be considered first. Let it be noted in the first place that Lk. 9 51 evidently constitutes a sort of boundary post in the third gospel. At this point the evangelist clearly marks a change in the geographical location and general point of view of Jesus' ministry, introducing a period which extends to 19 28 inclusive. But it is of much more importance for our present purpose to observe the differences in Matthew's way of using material found also in Luke, corresponding to the difference of location in Luke. Of non-Marcian material standing in Luke after 19 28 Matthew makes no use, with the possible exception of Lk. 22 28-30, to which there is a parallel in Mt. 19 28. The non-Marcian material previous to Lk. 9 51 which occurs also in Matthew is found in the corresponding portion of Matthew's gospel. But respecting the non-Marcian material which is found in Lk. 9 51-19 28 and also in Matthew quite the reverse is true. Although Matthew uses a large amount of this material, often in form almost identical with that of Luke, it never appears in Matthew between the points corresponding to Lk. 9 51 and 19 28, but always either in the Galilean period or the Jerusalem ministry. In other words, up to the beginning of his Perean period, Matthew makes use of Mark, and of a source or sources which he shares with Luke (much of this standing in Luke in what we may for convenience call also his Perean period), and has also much material peculiar to himself; the same is true after this

period except that here the material which he shares with Luke is *all* Perean in Luke; but in the Perean period he has only Marcan material and material peculiar to himself. These facts are easily accounted for if Matthew had before him separately two sources also used by Luke, the one containing material now found in Luke between 3 1 and 9 50, the other containing material now found in Luke 9 51-19 28, but with no indication in them that they covered successive periods of the ministry of Jesus. They are very difficult to account for otherwise; for in neither gospel is there anything to explain why, if Matthew had the material in one document with indication of the boundary line at Luke 9 51, or in two documents, with indication of the period to which each belonged, he should so studiously have disregarded the intimations of his sources. The evidence, therefore, indicates that the non-Markan material common to Matthew and Luke found now in Luke between 3 1 and 19 28 was, in Matthew's hands at least, not in one document but in two;<sup>3</sup> that Luke blended one of them with the Marcan account of the Galilean ministry, adding the other and interpolating into it Mark's account of the last journey to Jerusalem; that Matthew on the other hand used both of them to enrich and illustrate discourses which he set into his account of the Galilean ministry of Jesus; but when he reached Mark's comparatively brief account of the journey to Jerusalem (Mark, chap. 10), he employed beside Mark only a source peculiar to himself, unless perhaps the material of 19 10-12 and 20 1-16 was, though not used by Luke, found in one of the common sources above named.

b. Having answered the last question first, we may now proceed to the second one. Was Luke's form of the common sources more extensive than Matthew's, or did he perhaps have an additional document which Matthew did not pos-

<sup>3</sup> I waive the question whether these two came into Luke's hands also as separate documents or already combined into one. It need hardly be added that when I speak of common material as being found in a certain portion of Luke or Matthew, I mean to convey no implication as to whether the form of Matthew or of Luke is the more original. This is a wholly distinct matter.

sess? In other words, must something be subtracted from Luke's sources to recover that which Matthew used?

Respecting the document which Matthew and Luke both used for the Galilean period, there is no strong reason to think that Luke had a longer form than Matthew. The material used by him and omitted by Matthew is neither so large in amount nor so different in quality from that which has been taken up by both as to call for the supposition of another distinct source or of addition from floating tradition. Omission by Matthew is in this case an adequate explanation, and of course, the simplest.

In respect to the document which Luke used in his Perean period, the much larger amount of the material not used by Matthew and the character of it more strongly suggests a difference between the sources used by Luke and Matthew. Little stress can be laid upon Matthew's omission of the narrative introductions found in Luke. This is in accordance with Matthew's tendency, as shown in his treatment of material taken over from Mark. If, having accepted Mark as his chief source for narrative and his chief controlling source for order, he did not hesitate to abbreviate the narratives and narrative introductions in this source, he would be still more likely to omit narrative elements of a document which he was employing as an enriching rather than a principal source. But when all this narrative material has been set aside, there remain not far from 150 verses for the omission of which by Matthew there is less obvious reason.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, a considerable part of it would seem to have been very congenial to his point of view and purpose. The presence in Luke of such passages as the good Samaritan, the Galileans slain by Pilate, the lost coin, the prodigal son, the reproof of the pharisees for avarice, the pharisee and the publican, is rather surprising on the hypothesis that these sections were in a document which Matthew and Luke used in common.

<sup>4</sup> Approximately the following: 9 51-56. 61. 62, 10 35-42, 11 5-9. 27. 28, 12 13-21. 35-38. 47. 48, 13 1-17, 15 8-32, 16 1-12. 14. 15. 19-31, 18 1-14, 19 1-10. But it is obviously impossible to draw a line with certainty between what Matthew possessed and did not possess.



The evidence is not decisive, but if these sections were not in the document which Matthew used, then the quantity of this non-Matthean material which Luke has incorporated in his Perean section, and its literary character, make it probable that we have to do with two documents, of which Matthew had but one. Whether Luke possessed the two separately and himself combined them, or whether they were before him already combined, is like the question referred to above, whether for him the Galilean and non-Galilean documents had been combined, a matter of minor consequence on which I know of no decisive evidence.

c. We come then to the question whether Luke has omitted any of the material in the sources which he used in common with Matthew. This question may be subdivided into two. Did Luke and Matthew both omit any material in their common sources? Did Luke omit material which Matthew retained? The second of these questions may be put in another form: Was the material which is peculiar to Matthew, or any considerable part of it, in the source used also by Luke, and was it therefore omitted by him, or did Matthew derive it from a source or sources not drawn upon by Luke?

The first question is chiefly of speculative interest since *ex-hypothesi* we no longer possess the material in question in any form. The analogy of the use of Mark by Matthew and Luke would, however, suggest the probability that the non-Marcian source also contained some material which neither of the evangelists took over. Moreover, there is a little indirect but positive evidence that points in the same direction. Mention has previously been made of the evidence that Luke preserved the order of the material taken from his second Galilean source. But if so, since order is a relative matter, consisting in standing before or after something else, it is suggested that, beside the two events of which Luke preferred the account given in the second source to that of Mark, the former contained other sections, which Luke omitted indeed, preferring the Mark narrative, but which, being parallel accounts of events recorded in Mark, served the purpose of determining the position, in relation

to the Mark narrative, of those sections which he took over from this second source. The argument is manifestly not decisive, but if the conclusion is in fact correct, it may serve to explain certain minor peculiarities of the Lucan version of sections evidently derived mainly from Mark.

As concerns the possibility of a special source of the material peculiar to Matthew, it is pertinent to note first the position of the material. Previous to Matt. 3 1, which corresponds to Lk. 3 1, there is no material which is found also in Mark or Luke. Subsequent to the end of chapter 25, which corresponds to the end of Luke's chapter 21, there is no material (if we except a sentence or two of doubtful textual authority) which is common to Matthew and Luke except what comes from Mark. In other words, the non-Markan material that is found in the first two and last three chapters of Matthew is from sources peculiar to Matthew. It may be added that all this peculiar material is either narrative or clearly editorial in character, and evidently of relatively late origin. Of this material little need be said at this point. But when we come into the body of the gospel, in which we find, alongside of the Marcan material, much also which is common to Matthew and Luke only, we find in addition much that is peculiar to Matthew. It is difficult to state the exact amount of this latter, but it may be approximately estimated at 230 verses. Some of it is merely editorial comment, requiring no source to account for it. Some of it, chiefly narrative, is so similar in character to the peculiar material in chapters 1, 2, and 26-28 as to suggest, not indeed identity of documentary source, but similar origin. But besides this there remains a still larger amount of material, consisting of sayings and discourses, sometimes with brief narrative introductions or connective tissue, which is homogeneous in character and very similar in general type to the discourse material which is common to Matthew and Luke. It amounts to approximately 150 verses,<sup>5</sup> or about

<sup>5</sup> The list is approximately as follows: Matt. 5 4. 7-10. 13 a. 14. 16. 17. 19-24. 27. 28. 33-39 a. 41. 43. 6 1-6. 16-18. 34. 7 6. 15. 22. 10 5. 6. 8 b. 41. 11 28-30. 12 5-7. 11. 12 a. 34 a. 36. 37. 13 24-30. 44-48. 51. 52. 15 12-14. 18 4. 10. 14. 23-34. 20 1-15. 21 28-32. 22 1-10. 23 2. 3. 5. 7 b-10. 15-22. 24. 28. 32. 24 10-12. 25 1-18. With these passages may be in-

six-sevenths of the amount of non-Marcian material common to Matthew and Luke. If this material was in the non-Marcian source common to Matthew and Luke, it was a very important portion of it, being, as already stated, nearly equal in extent to the material which is identifiable as in the common source by the fact that it is in both the gospels. If it was not in the common source, then alike by its length and its character it is entitled to careful consideration as a source of scarcely less importance than the common source or sources of Matthew and Luke. Against the supposition that Matthew derived this material from various sources is its general homogeneity. We lack, of course, the definite criterion of its use by two gospels in substantially the same form, which in the case of the material common to Matthew and Luke enables us to establish the existence of one or more sources of definite content. But intrinsically there is no more reason to think in this case of scattered bits of material gathered from various sources than there is in the case of the common sources of Matthew and Luke. And the facts about the common sources having established, what indeed Luke distinctly affirms for his time, that in Matthew's time also there were various gospel documents in existence, there is the less reason for falling back in this case on the hypothesis of *disjecta membra*. On the other hand, against the hypothesis that this material was in any of the sources used in common by Matthew and Luke, is its extent and Luke's habit in respect to his sources. If Luke had this material, he must have omitted almost as much material as he and Matthew drew in common from their non-Marcian sources, or in other words, nearly as much material as, according to

cluded with greater or less probability a number of others which are omitted from the primary list either because they have partial parallels in Luke and so may come from a common source, or because they are subject to the suspicion of being, in part or in whole, derived from relatively late sources or of being the work of the editor. Here belong 3 14. 15, 5 31. 32, 6 7-13, 7 12 b, 9 13 a, 10 23. 36, 13 38-43, 49, 50, 16 17 b-19 a, 25 14-46. If the hypothesis that the parallels between Lk. 6 20-49 and Matthew, chapters 5-7, are due not to an immediate but a more remote common source is justified, there would be some still further additions to the list.



the common hypothesis, Q contained. This could be rendered probable only by something in the character of the material which would explain why Luke should have wished to omit it. But there is, so far as I can discover, nothing of this character in it.

But these general arguments for a separate and integrate source of discourse material peculiar to Matthew are reënforced by some important though easily overlooked facts as to the way in which Matthew has severally used the material peculiar to himself and the material drawn from the common sources. In his 13th chapter, for example, there is material found also in Mark and Luke, material found also in Luke but not in Mark, and material peculiar to Matthew. More specifically, the parable of the sower, and the basis of the paragraph on the purpose of parables are found also in Mark and Luke, and are doubtless derived by Matthew from Mark. The blessing on those who see and hear what the disciples see and hear is derived from that common source of Matthew and Luke which stands in Luke between 9 51 and 19 28. The interpretation of the parable of the sower is found also in Mark and Luke. Matthew now omits the statement about the lamp under the bushel, etc., found in Mark and Luke at this point, having already used a considerable part of it in his chapters 5, 10, and 11, and inserts the parable of the tares which is peculiar to him. Following this is the parable of the mustard seed, found both in Mark and in the Perean portion of Luke; Matthew, however, has it in conflate form, following Mark mainly but using a phrase or two found in Luke. Now just after this parable as it stands in Luke, chapter 13, comes the parable of the leaven, and this Matthew now introduces in the same position. This done, he brings in the conclusion of this group of parables, which in Mark stands immediately after the parable of the mustard seed, and then adds a quotation from Isaiah. But he is not yet through with his special source, for after introducing the explanation of the parable of the tares, he brings in three parables which are also peculiar to himself, the hid treasure, the pearl of great price, and the dragnet, after

which there stands another conclusion not in either of the identifiable common sources. It seems scarcely possible to doubt that he is here using three sources, Mark, a second common source, and a peculiar source, and that he has taken over the two conclusions which stood in Mark and the peculiar source respectively. The evidence of multiplicity of sources is still clearer in the sermon on the mount. There is, as is well known, a certain amount of material in this discourse which is parallel to Luke 6 20-49 both in thought and, in the main, in order. There is another considerable portion which is peculiar to Matthew, and a third important quantum that is paralleled in Luke outside the discourse of Lk. 6 20-49, all this latter being found in Luke between 9 51 and 19 28. There is a fourth small element, viz., material found in Mark, some of this being also found in Matthew at another place. It is an important fact that all the material which is paralleled in Lk. 6 20-49 and the portion peculiar to Matthew blend into a unified discourse on a single theme, but that all the material which is paralleled in Lk. 9 51-19 28, though on the surface usually seeming to be germane to the connection, appears on further examination to constitute a digression from the theme of the basal discourse. These phenomena suggest one or the other of two processes. The first suggestion is that the evangelist had a document containing Lk. 6 20-49, that he added to it from a source peculiar to himself the germane material, producing the unified basal discourse, to which he then added the less germane material derived from the document which constitutes one of the elements of Lk. 9 51-19 28. The other suggestion is that the evangelist possessed in one of his sources the basal discourse, *i.e.* a discourse parallel to Lk. 6 20-49, but containing also much material peculiar to Matthew, and that his part of the work was simply to add the material from the document now imbedded in Lk. 9 51-19 28. It is certainly in favor of this latter hypothesis that on the other theory the same mind must first have built up a unified discourse out of two elements, and then have marred its unity by the addition of a third. But what I am at present interested to

point out is that in either case the first evangelist must have had two, and probably three, sources beside Mark. On the first hypothesis he had a document, which Luke also possessed and from which he derived his 6 20-49. He must also have had a source peculiar to himself from which he added the germane material which, with the matter from the first source, yielded the unified basal discourse, and finally he must have had a source which Luke used in 9 51-19 28. On the second hypothesis the first evangelist had a source which though akin to Lk. 6 20-49 was not identical with it, and he must have had the third of the sources just named. But we have already seen that he also possessed a source which, in common with Luke, he used alongside of Mark in his Galilean narrative. Now this latter can hardly have been identical with the first-named source, for, unless we would needlessly multiply sources for Luke, we must recognize that the latter contained Lk. 6 20-49, and it could not have contained both forms of this discourse. If it be suggested that this Galilean source, if I may so refer to it, perhaps contained Matthew's basal discourse instead of Lk. 6 20-49, this cannot perhaps be disproved, but the character of that discourse is against it, and in any case the result would be simply to reduce Matthew's sources and increase Luke's with the result of a more complicated and incongruous hypothesis than on the other view.

Similar results would be reached by examining the other built-up discourses in Matthew's gospel, and the total result is to establish a strong probability that Matthew possessed a source peculiar to himself, which contained over 150 verses of discourse material ascribed to Jesus, and included some of the most weighty of the utterances which the synoptic gospels report as coming from him. The only alternative, and on the whole less probable hypothesis, is that these 150 verses belong along with the 175 which are common to Matthew and Luke to a common source of Matthew and Luke, and were omitted by the latter. Some things that still remain to be said will make this latter hypothesis appear still more improbable.



5. Reference has been made at several points to the probability that documents which lay behind our present gospels had, like our gospels themselves, elements of similarity. And, in fact, there is much to suggest that if we could recover the immediate ancestors of our present gospels, we should find that they also would present the same phenomena of resemblance and difference which we find in our present gospels, though the phenomena of resemblance would doubtless appear in much less measure.

To recur to cases already referred to, both Mark and the Perean portion of Luke contain the parable of the mustard seed. That Luke and Mark should both contain it is, of course, nothing strange; but it is quite exceptional that it should stand in Mark's Galilean portion and in Luke's Perean section. The fact that it does so stand, and the fact already mentioned, that Matthew has it, in conflate form in the Marcan position, but immediately followed, as it is in Luke, by the parable of the leaven, strongly suggest the existence of the parable of the mustard seed in two sources.

The case of Luke 6 20-49 compared with the basal discourse in Matthew, chapters 5 to 7, points in the same direction. These two discourses have evidently a common parentage. Yet neither Matthew's habit nor Luke's can explain how the two should diverge so much as they do if the two evangelists had before them the same discourse and nothing more. The more probable hypothesis is that, though they may have both had the Lucan form, or something much like it, Matthew had also a fuller form and one closely resembling the present discourse, minus what one may for brevity call the Perean and Marcan additions.

But there are other instances that have not been referred to. Luke relates both the mission of the Twelve and the mission of the Seventy, evidently drawn from different sources. When he had even in the same source, if perhaps they were both in his edition of Mark, the feeding of the five thousand and the feeding of the four thousand, he omitted the latter in accordance with his general disposition to avoid apparent duplicates. But apparently the great difference

between the numbers 12 and 70 led him to include both accounts of the sending out of the disciples to preach, though taken from different sources and having much similar material. Matthew, not for the purpose of avoiding duplication, but in accordance with his general plan of building up a few great discourses, each on a single theme, combines the Marcan discourse to the Twelve and the Lucan discourse to the Seventy, adding, as in all such cases, some material peculiar to himself.

If now, in the light of this example, we examine the facts respecting the discourse on casting out demons by Beelzebub, it will be clear that here also we have a case of similar material in two of the immediate sources of our gospels. In Mark, chapter 3, we have an incident of demon expulsion followed by discussion of the power by which Jesus cast out demons. In Luke, chapter 11, is a similar narrative; but it is not at all probable that it came from Mark, for Mark is not here a source for Luke, and Luke's general habit of following the order of his source is against the supposition of transposition. Moreover, Luke contains about four verses quite germane to the context which are not found in Mark. In Matthew's 12th chapter, following his usual impulse, Matthew has a conflated account, blending the story given in Mark with that which appears in Luke's chapter 11. The most reasonable explanation is that Mark and the common source of Matthew and Luke had a similar section on casting out demons; and the same arguments which lead us to predicate common sources of our present gospels, point in this case to a common source of the sources.

The parable of the pounds and the talents furnishes another probable instance. The former stands in Lk. 19 11-28, the latter in Matt. 25 14-30. They are enough alike to suggest a common original, and Matthew may easily have had the source which Luke used in his 19th chapter. But the wide departure of the Matthean form from that found in Luke, so much wider than Matthew customarily allows himself, makes it highly probable that he also had a version of this parable in his peculiar source.

Of single short sayings, which by the same kind of evidence are indicated to have existed in more than one of the immediate sources of our present gospels, many examples could be given. Some of the instances, both longer and shorter, may, of course, be accounted for by the supposition that the common source commonly called Q was a source of Mark. It may be doubted whether this is of itself a sufficient explanation. But what I am seeking now to emphasize is that there are so many and so clear phenomena pointing to sources behind the immediate sources of our gospels, that clearness of thinking requires us to divide the process of discovering the ultimate sources of our gospels into two clearly distinguished stages, — first, the discovery of the immediate sources of our synoptic gospels, with no presumption against the occurrence of duplicates in these sources, and second, the discovery of the sources of the sources. The genealogy of these documents is not so simple as has sometimes been supposed; and we are in danger of missing the true clue by confusing uncles with nephews, and daughters-in-law with mothers-in-law.

These, then, are the propositions which I venture to set forth for the consideration of students of the Synoptic Problem:—

1. The concentration of attention upon Mark and Q as the principal sources of Matthew and Luke to the extent that it is common among writers on the Synoptic Problem is scarcely justified by the facts. The two-document hypothesis has held the center of the stage too long. It should give way to the multiple-document hypothesis.

2. It is more probable that Matthew had a peculiar source for the teaching of Jesus than that the teachings peculiar to his gospel were either in the common sources of Matthew and Luke or existed as *disjecta membra*. This body of material deserves attention as possibly constituting a document inferior to none of the sources of our synoptic gospels in age or value.

3. It is more probable that the non-Marcan material common to Matthew and Luke was, for Matthew at least, in two



documents than that it was in one. The dividing line is to be drawn between Lk. 9 50 and 51. The first document probably contained substantially all the material in Lk. 3 1-9 50 not derived from Mark. Respecting 9 51-18 14, 19 1-28, however, it is not clear whether Matthew possessed the whole or only a portion of it; in the latter case Luke either had, beside the document which Matthew possessed, a source peculiar to himself, containing along with other material the parables of the good Samaritan and the prodigal son, or a document which was itself a combination of these two sources. For purposes of study, accordingly, the non-Marcan material in Lk. 3 1-19 28 falls by definite external tests into three parts, one used by both Matthew and Luke in the Galilean period, a second used by Luke in the Perean period and by Matthew in the Galilean period and the Jerusalem ministry, a third used by Luke only and in his Perean period. In what combinations they came into the hands of Matthew and Luke respectively is a matter for investigation, but apparently the two which Matthew used came to him separately, not combined.

4. It is highly probable that the immediate sources of our gospels contained severally a considerable amount of common material, which is itself to be accounted for by sources, in part at least, written, and lying behind the immediate sources of our Gospels.

5. The recovery of immediate sources needs to be differentiated as sharply as possible from the discovery of ultimate sources.



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## The Prayer of Moses the Man of God<sup>1</sup>

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IN my paper on Assyr. *ikkâr* and *irriš*, farmer, published ZDMG 65, 563, l. 30—564, l. 12,<sup>2</sup> I have discussed two couplets of Ps. 90 which bears the title *The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God*. I have stated there that vv. 7–9, also 11. 12 and v. 15, are later additions, and that v. 4 should precede v. 3. The ἀπαξ λεγόμενον זרמתה in v. 5 is connected with the noun זרמה, *emission of semen*, Ezek. 23 20. We find the same verb in Arabic: *zâramat bîhi úmmuhu* means *his mother was pregnant with him* or *his mother bore him*. The Heb. verb זרם means *to engender, generate, procreate, bring into life*. Hitzig combined it with זרמה in Ezek. 23 20, and interpreted: *du streuest (die Keime ihres Werdens) aus*.<sup>3</sup> If we want to imitate the obscurity of the original we may say, *Thou springest them*; to *spring* may mean *to cause to spring up* or *arise, bring forth, generate, also to scatter as in sowing*. The version of the Psalms in the Book of Common

<sup>1</sup> Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, Dec. 29, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> For the abbreviations, see this JOURNAL, vol. 29, p. 112; cf. AJSL 26, 204; ZDMG 63, 530. — *Mic.* = Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910).

<sup>3</sup> See Hitzig, *Die Psalmen* (Heidelberg, 1836) 2, 152 n.\*; *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1865) 2, 234.



Prayer has *Thou scatterest them*. Symmachus renders: ὡς καταργῶν ἐξερύναξας αὐτούς, *Thou didst scatter them like a squall*. The Syriac Bible has שְׂרָבְתָהוֹן, *their generations*, but this should be the denominative Pael, שְׂרַבְתָּ אֹנֹן, *Thou hast generated them*. Instead of the familiar *Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as asleep*, we must render: *Thou hast gendered them year by year*.

Duhm<sup>4</sup> suggested the reading וְרַעְתָּם instead of וְרַמְתָּם, and his emendation has been adopted by Gunkel, who has just published the third edition of his *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1912) and an important article on the classification of the Psalms in the November number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* edited by Julius Rodenberg. But the received text is correct. Duhm is right, however, in regarding the following שְׁנָה, *sleep*, as a mispointed haplography of שְׁנָה שְׁנָה, *year in year out* (cf. *Kings*, 243, 27).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, בְּבֹקֶר, after יְדִוּי, is vertical dittography of בְּבֹקֶר at the beginning of the following line, and וְחֶלֶף, or rather יְחֶלֶף, after יִצְיָן, is vertical dittography of יְחֶלֶף, or rather יְחֶלֶף, at the end of the preceding verse.

In v. 14 the meaningless בְּבֹקֶר in the phrase שְׂבַעְנוּ בְּבֹקֶר חֶסֶדְךָ, *satisfy us in the morning with Thy mercy*, is a corruption of a rare word for *abundance*, Heb. מִכָּר. I have shown (*Kings* 238, 51; cf. ZDMG 65, 563, l. 23) that we have the same stem in מִכָּר, 2 K 12 6. 8, which does not mean *acquaintance*, but *donor, benefactor*. Assy. *makāru* means *to give in abundance*. We must read שְׂבַעְנוּ בְּמִכָּר חֶסֶדְךָ, *Sate us with the abundance of Thy mercy*.

While שְׁנָה must be repeated in v. 5, it must be omitted in v. 10, and the last word of that verse, וְנִפְצָה, should be pointed וְנִפְצָה, from נִפַּץ, *to be weary*, while the preceding נִינֵעַ חֲנָם seems to be a corruption of כִּי גֹ חַיִּשׁ, *we toil for nought*. Schultens, *Animadversiones* (Amsterdam, 1732) p. 175, translated: *Quia velociter transit, et avolamus*; but כִּי גֹ חַיִּשׁ cannot mean *for it soon passes away* or *for it is soon cut off* (contrast *Nah.* 28, below). J. D. Michaelis' rendering: *Schnell fährt das Schiff über die See und fliegt*

<sup>4</sup> *Die Psalmen erklärt von B. Duhm* (Freiburg i/B, 1899).

*davon*<sup>5</sup> can be appreciated only in the light of our recent aviatric records. The divergences of the Ancient Versions show that the text is corrupt. The pointing נָעַפָּה instead of נִעַפָּה is supported by the Syriac Bible, which renders: מַטּוּל רֵאָתָא עֲלֵין מוֹכַבָּא וְאַתְמַרְפָּן, *because affliction comes over us, and we are worn out*.<sup>6</sup> I have stated in ZDMG that this familiar verse must be translated:

Our years are threescore and ten,  
and, if one be strong, even fourscore;  
Most of it is labor and sorrow,  
we are ever toiling and moiling.

But instead of בְּכָל־עֵת נִינֵעַ, *we are ever toiling*, in the last hemistich, it is better to read נִינֵעַ חֲנָם, *we toil for nought*. Goethe said to Eckermann on Jan. 27, 1824, when he was 75: *Man hat mich immer als einen vom Glück besonders begünstigten gepriesen . . . allein im Grunde ist es nichts als Mühe und Arbeit gewesen*.<sup>7</sup> The reading *most of it*, Heb. רַבָּם, is supported by GSC.<sup>2</sup> The Book of Common Prayer has: *Though men be so strong that they come to fourscore years*.

This Psalm is undoubtedly one of the most impressive poems in the Bible, but several of its familiar lines are meaningless, e.g. the well-known *Establish Thou the work of our hands upon us*. It sounds beautiful, but *upon us* in this connection is beyond explanation, and the meter shows that it is merely dittography of the *upon us* at the end of the preceding hemistich, *May the favor of the Lord be upon us*. The received text repeats the phrase *Support the work of our hands* without the meaningless *upon us*. This may be a correction of the preceding clause.<sup>8</sup> The Book of Common Prayer has *Prosper Thou our handiwork*.

This beautiful poem is, of course, not a prayer of Moses, the man of God. Cheyne states in his *Bampton Lectures*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Deutsche Übersetzung des Alten Testaments*, part 6, p. 144 (Göttingen, 1782).

<sup>6</sup> This Syriac verb does not mean *to be snatched away*, as some commentators suppose, but *to be weary, exhausted, worn out, afflicted*.

<sup>7</sup> Cited by Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (London, 1888) p. 255.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 47, l. 42.

<sup>9</sup> Cheyne, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (London, 1891) pp. 74/5

that almost all the ancient and medieval commentators, and many of the best modern Christian exegetes, deny the Psalm to Moses.<sup>10</sup> Grotius (*Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum*) suggested that some later poet might have written the Psalm in the character of Moses; he remarks on the title *Oratio Mosis hominis Dei: Non ab ipso facta est sed ejus rebus animoque conveniens*. The title was suggested by the references in the opening couplet to the creation of the world and by certain phraseological parallels (שְׁנוֹת, יָמוֹת) in Deut. 32 which had long since been ascribed to Moses.<sup>11</sup> The Mosaic authorship was denied by Melancthon's friend Esrom Rüdinger in his *Libri Psalmorum Paraphrasis Latina* (Görlitz, 1581).<sup>12</sup> Hitzig believed that the poem was written between 164 and 152 B.C., and C. v. Lengerke (1847) assigned it to the later Maccabean period. The preceding Psalm (89) is undoubtedly Maccabean, and I have shown in the *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909) p. 276, that the following Psalm (91) is a Maccabean talisman. The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God, may be almost as late as the Book of Ecclesiastes, which seems to have been completed about 100 B.C.<sup>13</sup> Like Ecclesiastes this pessimistic

<sup>10</sup> But Franz Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1894) p. 585 stated: *Es giebt kaum ein Schriftdenkmal des Altertums, welches das Überlieferungszeugnis seiner Abstammung so glänzend rechtfertigte wie dieser Psalm*, and Tholuck, *Psalmen* (Gotha, 1873) p. 569 said: *Die Stimme des alten Gesetzgebers lässt sich nicht undeutlich herauserkennen*. T. C. Murray, in his *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms* (New York, 1880) p. 271/2 says that none of the allusions of this song are unsuited to what we know of the Mosaic times . . . . It could well have been preserved in the early song book, "The Book of Valor."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866) p. 37.

<sup>12</sup> He says, *Verisimilius multo fuerit, magisque consentaneum, Antiochici temporis Psalmum existimare*; cf. Rosenmüller's *Scholia* (Leipzig, 1823) p. 1513; see also C. Ehrt, *Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters* (Leipzig, 1869) p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> See Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 3. My interpretation of Eccl. 4 13-16 as referring to Antiochus Epiphanes and Alexander Balas has been endorsed by Bertholet in TLZ 35, 389. Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (London, 1904) 2, 78, called attention to the fact that v. 10 of our Psalm is alluded to in the Book of Jubilees (23 12. 15) which was, according to Charles, written before 96 B.C. or some years earlier in the reign of



poem exhibits a number of theological interpolations, *e.g.* the couplet consisting of vv. 7 and 9:<sup>14</sup>

Through Thy wrath we end,   snatched away through Thine ire;  
For all our days decline,       our years are ended in sighing.

This is a gloss to the third couplet of the original poem:

Thou hast gendered them year by year, like sprouting herbage they are:  
In the morn it buds and blossoms,       at even it is seared and withered;

and to the first line of this gloss, *Through Thy wrath we end, snatched away through Thine ire*, we have a tertiary gloss in v. 11:

Who minds Thy wrath?   who heeds Thine anger?

Instead of the meaningless *וכיראתך*, and according to the fear of Thee, we must read *ומי ראה*, and who sees or heeds? The traditional rendering, even according to Thy fear, so is Thy wrath, is impossible.

Just as obscure is the traditional reading of the second hemistich of the following line, *ונבא לִבְבַּחֲכֶמָה*, which is supposed to mean *that we cause our hearts to come unto wisdom* or *that we bring in (harvest) a heart of wisdom*. Wellhausen, followed by Gunkel, reads *ונבא לִבְבַּחֲכֶמָה*, *that we may enter the gate of wisdom*. This is just as questionable as his reading *וְרַע מִתָּמָם שָׁנָה*, *the generation of men is shifting*, instead of *ורמתם שנה שנה*, *Thou hast gendered them year by year*. Instead of *ונבא לִבְבַּחֲכֶמָה*, we must read *ומלא לִבְבָנוּ חֲכֶמָה*, and fill our hearts with wisdom.<sup>15</sup>

V. 8 is a gloss to the first line of the third stanza:

Relent, O JHVH!   How long?                   take pity on Thy servants!

Heb. *עַד-מָתַי*, *how long?* or *enough!* is used here elliptically

John Hyrcanus; see the new edition (1911) of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 15, p. 534; cf. Littmann's translation in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen* (Tübingen, 1900) p. 79 and Schürer's *GJV* 3, 379 (1909).

<sup>14</sup> I was very much interested in finding that Feodor Spanjer-Herford in his metrical version of the Psalms (Braunschweig, 1896) has bracketed all the lines which I regard as glosses, the only difference being that he has bracketed v. 13 instead of v. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Graetz, *Krit. Commentar über die Psalmen* (Breslau, 1883) p. 512, read *בן הורע נביא לִבְבַּחֲכֶמָה*, *so hat uns kund getan ein Prophet weisen Herzens*, and considered this an allusion to Is. 65 20.

like the Assy. *adî matî* in cuneiform penitential psalms. The synonym of *adî matî*, Assy. *axulâp*, which is connected with Heb. אָחַלִי, *O that!* is used in the same way.<sup>16</sup> For the perfect שָׁתָה, *Thou hast placed*, in v. 8, we must read the imperative שִׁתָּה, *do place*, and the following עֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ, *our iniquities*, is a corruption of עֲנוּתֵנוּ, *our suffering*; we find the same word, mispointed עֲנִית in Ps. 22 25. Similarly עֲלַמְנוּ in the second hemistich, which is supposed to mean *our secret sins*, is a transposition of עַמְלָנוּ, *our toil*. Instead of *Thou hast placed our iniquities before Thee, our secret sins in the light of Thy countenance*, we must read:

Oh! place our sufferings before Thee! our toil in the light of Thy face!  
i.e. Consider our suffering, and have mercy upon us! Let the light of Thy countenance shine upon us! Beam love upon us! (Num. 6 25). A similar transposition has been suggested for Eccl. 3 11, where several critics read נֶחֱם אֶת־הָעֵמֶל נָתַן בָּלֶבָם instead of the received reading אֶת־הָעֵלֶם. The true reading, however, is הָעֵלֶם, *obscurity, dimness*: God has put obscurity in our heart, He has veiled our mental vision.<sup>17</sup> Locke says, our human understanding is the divine revelation through which God has imparted to us a portion of the truth. G has ὁ αἰὼν ἡμῶν in the present passage, reading עֲלַמְנוּ instead of עֲלַמְנוּ.

Duhm has pointed out that vv. 48, 49 of the preceding Psalm are a misplaced gloss to Ps. 90:

עַל־מֶה־שָׂוֹא בָּרָאת <sup>α</sup> אָדָם:	זָכַר אֲדֹנִי מִהֶחֱלָד	48
יִמְלֹט נַפְשׁוֹ מִיַּד־שָׂאוֹל! <sup>18</sup>	מִי־קֹבֵר <sup>β</sup> לֹא־יִרְאֶה מוֹת	49
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י 49 (β)	כָּל בֶּן	48 (α)
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48 Remember, O Lord, what life is,	on what vanity <sup>α</sup> man is created! <sup>19</sup>	
49 Who is he that <sup>β</sup> sees not death,	and saves his life from Hades.	
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(α) 48 all the sons of		(β) 49 lives and

<sup>16</sup> See Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885) pp. 28 and 118; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, pp. 44 <sup>a</sup> and 435 <sup>b</sup>; *Assyr. Lesestücke* (1909) p. 153 <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> See Haupt, *Koheleth* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 29, n. 7; cf. *Nah.* 32.

<sup>18</sup> Read *šöl*; cf. below, note on וְאֶשְׁמֹרָה, v. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Lit. *Thou hast created man*.

The connection between Ps. 90 and Ps. 89 48 was pointed out by Rüdinger; see Hupfeld's commentary (Gotha, 1888) 2, 364.

The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God, consists of three stanzas, each comprising two couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line. Duhm states in his commentary<sup>4</sup> that this poem is written in tetrastichs with three beats, but in his translation<sup>20</sup> he has four beats in each stich, or rather hemistich; so, too, Bickell in his *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, part 3 (Innsbruck, 1883) p. 171. The original poem consisted only of the first two stanzas; the third seems to be a subsequent liturgical addition (so, too, Duhm and Gunkel). Hupfeld regarded vv. 1-12 as an introduction to vv. 13-17; he divided the poem into three stanzas: vv. 1-6, 7-12, and 13-17. According to Olshausen there are no regular stanzas.<sup>21</sup> Reuss<sup>22</sup> believed that there was a close connection between vv. 13-17 and the preceding verses, and contested the theory that the last stanza was secondary. Rosenmüller<sup>12</sup> divided the poem into two sections: vv. 1-11 and 12-17.

The Hebrew text should be arranged as follows:

### תפלה למשה איש האלהים

1	i	A	אֲדֹנָיִּי בְּדֶר וָדֶר	{וּמַעֲוֹלִים עַד־עוֹלָם אַתָּה <sup>8</sup> :
2			בְּטָרִם הָרִים יִלְדוּ	וְתַחֲוִלֵּל אֶרֶץ וּתְכַלֵּל <sup>9</sup> :
4	ii		כִּי־אֵלֶּה שָׁנִים בְּעֵינֶיךָ	כִּי־אֵלֶּה שָׁנִים בְּעֵינֶיךָ <sup>8</sup> :
3			תִּשָּׁב אָנוּשׁ אֶל־דִּבְכָּה	וְתֹאמַר שׁוּבוּ בְּנֵי־אָדָם :
5	iii	B	וּרְמַתָּם שָׁנָה שָׁנָה	יְהִי־יָהּ כַּחצִיר יִחְלָף :
6			בְּבִקְרַח יִפְרָח וּיִצְיָן <sup>7</sup>	לְעֶרֶב יִמּוֹלֵל וּיִבָּשׁ :

<sup>20</sup> *Die Psalmen übersetzt von B. Duhm* (Freiburg i/B, 1899).

<sup>21</sup> *Die Psalmen erklärt von Justus Olshausen* (Leipzig, 1853) p. 367.

<sup>22</sup> *Das Alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert von Eduard Reuss*, vol. 5, p. 205 (Braunschweig, 1893).



10 iv יְמֵי שְׁנוֹתָנוּ<sup>o</sup> שְׁבָעִים      וְאִם בְּנִבְוֹרֶת שְׁמוֹנִים<sup>a</sup>  
וְרָבָם עֲמָל וְאֹן      נִיגַע חָנָם וְנִעְפָּה:

13 v C שׁוֹכָה יְהוָה עֲדֵר־מְתִי      וְהִנָּחֵם עָלַי עֲבָדֶיךָ<sup>a</sup>  
14 שְׁפָעֵנוּ בַּמֶּכֶר חֶסֶדְךָ      וְנִרְנָנָה<sup>a</sup> בְּכָל יְמֵינוּ<sup>a</sup>:

16 vi יִרְאֶה עַל־עֲבָדֶיךָ פֶּעֶלְךָ      וְהַדְרֵךְ עָלַי בְּנִיהֶם:  
17 וַיְהִי־נָעַם אֲדֹנָיִי<sup>z</sup> עָלֵינוּ      וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵינוּ כֹּונָנָה<sup>o</sup>:

1 (α)	מַעַח אַתָּה הָיִית לָנוּ	2 (β)	אֵל	4 (γ)	כִּי עֲבַר
4 (δ)	בְּלִילָה	5 (ε)	בְּפֶקֶד	6 (ζ)	יִחְלַף
7 (η)	כִּרְכְּלֵנוּ בְּאַפָךְ	וּבַחֲמַתְךָ נִבְהָלָנוּ <sup>a</sup>			
9	כִּרְכַּל יְמֵינוּ פָּנוּ <sup>pp</sup>	כָּל־יְשֻׁנוּ בְּנִינָה:			
10 (θ)	בְּהֵם	11 (ι)	שָׁנָה	12 (κ)	שָׁנָה
8 (λ)	שָׁתָה עֲטֹתָנוּ לִנְגֹדְךָ	עֲמַלְנוּ לְאִיר פֶּנִיךָ			
15 (ν)	שָׁמַחְנוּ כִּימֹות עֲטֹתָנוּ	שָׁנוֹת רָאִינוּ רַעְיָה:			
17 (ξ)	אֱלֹהֵינוּ	18 (ο)	עָלֵינוּ וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵינוּ כֹּונָנָה		
<hr/>					
11 (ππ)	מִי־יֹודֵעַ עֲדָאָךְ	וּמִי־רָאָה עֲבָרְךָ:			
12	לִמְנוּחַ יָמֵינוּ כְּהַדֹּדֶעַ	וּמִלֵּא לִבְבֵנוּ חֶסֶדְךָ:			

This may be translated as follows :

# PSALM 90

## *A Prayer of Moses, the Man of God*

- A i 1 O Lord,<sup>a</sup> Thou art eternal,  
     {without beginning or end,<sup>β</sup>}
- 2 Ere mountains were brought forth,  
     ere earth and land were born. { }
- ii 4 A thousand years in Thy sight  
     are as yesternight<sup>γ</sup> or as a night-watch,<sup>δ</sup>
- 3 To dust Thou turnest mortals,  
     and sayest, Return ye, men !
- B iii 5 Thou hast gendered them year by year,  
     like sprouting herbage they are :<sup>e</sup>

6 In the morn it buds and blossoms,<sup>5</sup>  
at even it is seared and withered.<sup>7</sup>

iv 10 Our years<sup>9</sup> are threescore and ten,<sup>4</sup>  
and, if one be strong, even fourscore;<sup>8</sup>  
Yet most of them — labor and sorrow,  
for nought we are toiling and moiling.

C v 13 *Relent, O Jahveh! Enough!*  
*take pity on Thy servants!*<sup>1</sup>  
14 *With the fill of Thy goodness sate us*  
*that all our days we rejoice.*<sup>11</sup>

vi 16 *Manifest Thy work on Thy servants,*  
*and Thy glory on their sons!*  
17 *May the favor of the Lord<sup>5</sup> be upon us,*  
*support our handiwork!*<sup>6</sup>

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(a) 1 Thou hast been a stronghold for us	(β) 2 O God!
(γ) 4 when it is past (δ) in the night	(ε) 5 in the morning (ζ) 6 it sprouts
(η) 7 Through Thy wrath we end,	snatched away through Thine ire; ππ
9 For all our days decline, <sup>ρρ</sup>	we end our years in sighing.
(θ) 10 in them	(ι) years (κ) years
(λ) 8 Oh! place our suffering be-	our toil in the light of Thy face!
fore Thee,	
(ν) 15 Let us rejoice as many days	as many years as we saw evil!
as we suffered,	
(μ) 14 and be glad (ξ) 17 our God	(ο) upon us, support our handiwork

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(ππ) 11 Who minds Thy wrath?	who heeds Thine anger?
12 Our days teach us truly to tell,	and fill our hearts with wisdom!
(ρρ) 9 through Thine anger	

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I append two metrical translations in German and in Assyrian; cf. my Assyrian renderings of Pss. 23 and 137, and David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan, AJSL 21, 137; OLZ 10, 67; JHUC No. 163, p. 56; see *Preliminary Bibliography of Paul Haupt*, compiled by A. Ember, JHUC No. 240, p. 26, l. 6.

*Gebet des Gottesmannes Moses*

A i 1 Herr,<sup>a</sup> Du bist für und für,  
{von Urzeit bis zur Endzeit,<sup>β</sup>}  
2 Ehe denn die Berge geboren  
und Erd' und Land erschaffen. { }

- ii 4 Vor Dir sind tausend Jahre  
wie die gestrige Nacht,<sup>γ</sup> eine Wache.<sup>δ</sup>
- 3 Zu Staub machst Du die Menschen  
und rufst sie wieder in's Dasein.
- B iii 5 Jahr für Jahr hast Du sie erzeugt,  
sie sind <sup>ε</sup> wie sprossendes Gras :
- 6 Am Morgen wächst es und blüht,<sup>ζ</sup>  
am Abend ist's welk und verdorret.<sup>η</sup>
- iv 10 Unserer Jahre Zahl <sup>θ</sup> ist siebzig <sup>ι</sup>  
bei grosser Kraft auch achtzig ; <sup>κ</sup>  
Doch ist's meist nur Mühe und Arbeit,  
vergebliches Plagen und Quälen.
- C v 13 *Lass ab ! O Jahveh ! Genug !*  
*hab' Mitleid mit Deinen Dienern !<sup>λ</sup>*
- 14 *Mit der Fülle Deiner Gnade lab' uns,*  
*lass' uns frohlocken <sup>μ</sup> all' unsre Tage !<sup>ν</sup>*
- vi 16 *Zeig' Dein Walten an Deinen Dienern,*  
*Deine Grösse an ihren Kindern !*
- 17 *Des Herren <sup>ξ</sup> Huld sei bei uns,*  
*unsrer Hände Arbeit fördre !<sup>ο</sup>*
- 
- (α) 1 eine Feste bist Du für uns (β) 2 O Gott (γ) 4 wenn sie vorüber  
gewesen
- (δ) 4 in der Nacht (ε) 5 am Morgen (ζ) 6 sprosst
- (η) 7 Vor Deinem Grimm ver- weggerafft durch Deinen Zorn.<sup>ππ</sup>  
gehn wir,
- 9 Denn all' unsre Tage schwin- unsre Jahre vergehn in Jammer.  
den,<sup>ρρ</sup>
- (θ) 10 darin (ι) Jahr (κ) Jahr
- (λ) 8 Unser Leiden stelle Dir vor, unsre Not vor Dein leuchtendes Ant-  
litz !
- (ν) 15 Für die Tage unsres Leidens für die Jahre da wir Unglück er-  
gieb uns Freude, fahren !
- (μ) 14 und uns freuen (ξ) 17 unsres Gottes (ο) 17 bei uns, unsrer Hände  
Arbeit fördre !
- 
- (ππ) 11 Wer bedenkt Deine Zornglut ? wer beachtet Deinen Unwillen ?
- 12 Lehr' uns recht zu zählen unsre Tage und füll' unser Herz mit Weisheit !
- (ρρ) 9 durch Deinen Unwillen



*Tislûtu ša Mûšâ amêl ili*

- A i 1 *Bêlum*<sup>a</sup> *dârû attâ* {ultu-ullâ ana-arkât ûmê<sup>β</sup>}  
 2 *Lam šadê v'aldû-ma* erçitu u-nâbalu ibbanû.{}  
 ii 4 *Ina-pânika lîm šanâti* kîma-amšât<sup>γ</sup> u-kîma maççarti<sup>δ</sup>  
 3 *Tênišêti ana -tîti tatâr-ma* "Tûrû amelûti" taqâbî.  
 B iii 5 *Šatta ana-satti tazrîšun* \*kîma-urçîti âçîti ibdâšû  
 6 *Ina-šêri iddâšî-ma isâmax*<sup>ε</sup> ina-lilâti ibbal-ma irrur.<sup>μ</sup>  
 iv 10 *Ûmê šanâtini*<sup>θ</sup> *šebâ-ma* ina-emûqê rabâti samânâ<sup>κ</sup>  
*Ma'adûssun pušqu u-dan-* ana-inimma šûnuxâni šumru-  
*natu* çâni.  
 C v 13 *Tûra Iâma adî-matî* ana-ardêka rêma rišîšun<sup>λ</sup>  
 14 *Ina-makâr salîmika šuš-* ina-kal ûmêni nirêsa.<sup>μν</sup>  
*qîni-ma*  
 vi 16 *El-ardêka epîštuka linna-* tanîttuka elî mârêšun  
*mir-ma*  
 17 *Lû-dumqu ša Bêlini*<sup>ξ</sup> *elî-* šîpir qâtâni šutêšîr.<sup>ο</sup>  
*ni-ma*

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(α) 1 <i>dannatu ana-nâši tabšî</i>	(β) 2 <i>ilu</i>	(γ) 4 <i>ša êtîqu</i>
(δ) 4 <i>ina-mûši</i>	(ε) 5 <i>ina-šêri</i>	(ξ) 6 <i>uççâ</i>
(η) 7 <i>Ina-uzzatika niklî</i>	<i>ina-uggatika nillaqit</i> <sup>ππ</sup>	
9 <i>U-kal ûmêni izliqû-ma</i> <sup>ρρ</sup>	<i>šanâtini ina-tânîxi kalâ</i>	
(θ) 10 <i>ina-šâšunu</i>	(ι) <i>šanâti</i>	(κ) <i>šanâti</i>
(λ) 8 <i>Maruštani maxarka šukun</i>	<i>šapsaqani ina-nûr pânika</i>	
(ν) 15 <i>Kî-ûmê maruštini xuddîni</i>	<i>šanâti ša-limutta nîmuru</i>	
(μ) 14 <i>u-nizâdû</i>	(ξ) <i>ilîni</i>	(ο) <i>elîni-ma šîpir qâtâni šutêšîr</i>

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(ππ) 11 <i>Mannu-uggataka idî-ma</i>	<i>mannu-kimiltaka upâq</i>	
12 <i>Ana-manî ûmêni kênîš-šidî-ma</i>	<i>libbani nîmêqa mullî</i>	(ρρ) 9 <i>ina kimiltika</i>

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## CRITICAL NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT

V. 1. — The name משה may have been originally מושע so that משה would correspond to יהושע as מאיר to יאיר; see note 24 to my paper *An ancient protest against the curse on Eve* in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, p. 513 (Philadelphia, September, 1911).

For אֱלֹהִים אִישׁ אֶחָד has דִּיהוּה נְבִיא.

For *מצון* in the gloss *מצון אתה היית לנו*, read *מצון*; cf. *Die Psalmen übersetzt von E. Kautzsch* (Freiburg i/B, 1893) p. 204. This word, however, does not mean *καταφυγή*, *refugium*, but *stronghold*, from *עון*; see *Mic.* 80, below. Duhm thinks that this clause was probably added by the author of vv. 13–17 (stanza C).

*ברר ודר* means *in all* (GK § 123, c) *generations*, i.e. *everlasting*; so, too, in Syriac. *ܠܕܪܪܝܢ* (cf. Assyrian *ana dâr dâri*) which has the same meaning (*for ever and ay*).

V. 2. — The two halves of v. 2 must be transposed (cf. *Mic.* 94, vi): *ומעולם עד-עולם אתה* (lit. *from the dim past to the dim future*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 17; contrast AL<sup>5</sup>, 153<sup>b</sup>, line 20) is the second hemistich to the first line of the poem; so Bickell, Duhm, and Zenner-Wiesmann, *Psalmen* (Münster i/W, 1906/7). Cheyne in his translation of the Psalms in the Parchment Library (London, 1884) p. 246 renders *from æon to æon*, one æon extending indefinitely in the past, and the other in the future.

*אל*, at the end of the verse, was combined by *ΘΙ* (*μὴ ἀποστρέψης*, *ne avertas*) with *תשב* at the beginning of the following verse; cf. second note on v. 3. This is endorsed by Paulus in *Philol. Clavis über die Psalmen* (Heidelberg, 1815) p. 397; also by Zenner-Wiesmann, and by Briggs, *Psalms* (1907). But *סט* have *את הוא אלהא*. In *פא*, however, *אל* (cf. *Mic.* 71, l. 2; 86, a) is vocative, not predicate.

*יִלְדוּ* is impf. pass. Qal like *יִתֵּן*, *יִקַּח*, *יִקָּם*, etc. (GK § 53, u).

For *תחולל* (from *חיל*; cf. *Mic.* 82) read the passive *ותחולל* (*Θ* *πλασθῆναι*, *formaretur*, *איתבריאת*). *ס* has two verbs (cf. note on *ימולל*, v. 6) for *ותחולל*, one active, and one passive: *ועדלא תחבלי ארעא ועדלא תתקני תאביל*. Luther's *ehe . . . die Erde und die Welt geschaffen worden* is better than AV *before . . . thou hadst formed the earth and the world*.

*תבל* does not mean *world*, but *land*, especially *terra firma*; *Θ*, therefore, *ἡ οἰκουμένη* (cf. Syr. *תאביליא*, *ecumenical*). *ט* *יתבי תבל*. Michaelis, correctly, *Erde und Land*; also Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 586 explains *ארץ* as *Erdkörper*, and *תבל* as *Festland*. The original meaning is *dry land*; *תבל* (Syr. *תאביל*, *תאכל*, *תביל*, *תיכל*, *תהבאל*) is the

Assyr. *tábalu*, a byform of *nábalu* (for *ma'balu*; cf. BA 1, 175) from אבֿל = אמל, *to be dry*; cf. note on ימולל, v. 6. Heb. תבֿל represents a later pronunciation of Assyr. *tábalu*, viz. *tébilu*; cf. Assyr. *erritu* = *arratu*, curse; *erçitu* = *arçatu*, earth. A similar Assyrian loanword is טבֿת (*Est.* 23). According to Gen. 1 9 the dry land appeared after the earth had been created.

V. 3.—This verse should be preceded by v. 4. Bachmann, *Psalmen*, part 5 (Berlin, 1891) p. 342 remarked: *Vers 4 passte besser als v. 3, und vielleicht darf man eine Umstellung dieser Verse vornehmen*. But more than 60 years ago Ernst Meier, *Die poetischen Bücher des AT* (Stuttgart, 1850) p. 122 added to v. 4 the note: *Dieser Vers steht im Hebr. unrichtig hinter dem folgenden*. The same transposition has been adopted by Spanjer-Herford (cf. above, p. 119, n. 14).

For תשב read תשב; cf. *Mic.* 70, μ. The traditional pointing presupposes the reading אל-תשב, μῆ ἀποστρέψης; see second note on v. 2. Graetz, *O, vergilt den Sterblichen nicht bis zur Vernichtung*. Briggs, *Do not turn man back to dust*. Bachmann's conjecture, אֵלִית שָׁב אָנוּשׁ עֲדִדְכָא, *Thou hast pronounced a curse, Return, O man, to dust*, is gratuitous.

עד עֲדִדְכָא is not equivalent to עֲד הָיִית דָּכָא (Hitzig). עד is miswriting for על = אל; cf. Gen. 3 19, Eccl. 12 7, and *Kings* 142, 23; *Mic.* 80, ε.

For דכָא read דכָּה, fem. of דָּךְ = דָּק Ex. 16 14, Is. 40 15, Arab. *duqq*, fine dust, lit. *powdered matter* (Hupfeld, *zu Malm*). Cf. דָּרָק לַעֲפָר 2 K 23 6. Some MSS read דכָּא instead of דכָּה in Deut. 23 2; see Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 587, n. 1. If we retain דכָּא, we must point דָּכָא, a form like דָּשָׂא. Isaac Leeser's Bible renders, *Thou turnest man to contrition*. Ὁ εἰς ταπεινωσιν; so, too, ⲩ (עֲדָמָא לְמוֹכָכָא; cf. v. 11). ⲥ עד מוֹתָא.

For וְהֵאמֵר read וְהֵאמָר; it is the *modus rei repetitae* (GK § 107, e). Cf. note on וַיֵּבֶשׁ in v. 6.

שׁוּבוּ should be accented on the ultima; cf. *Nah.* 18, conclusion of note on 1 1. It does not mean *Werdet was ihr wart*



(J. D. Michaelis). Similarly J. A. Cramer has in his *Poetische Übersetzung der Psalmen*, part 3 (Leipzig, 1763) p. 23:

Wenn Du gebietest: Sterbt! Kommt Menschenkinder wieder,  
und werdet was ihr waret, Staub.

Gunkel, *Kehrt wieder zurück zum Staub, daraus ihr erschaffen seid*. This explanation, which is advocated also by Briggs and in third edition of Kautzsch's HSAT, is incorrect; the present passage must be explained according to Eccl. 14: **דור הולך ודור בא**, *generations are going and coming*. The Coranic passage Sur. 30 10, cited by Cheyne, *Psalms* (1888) p. 254, has a different meaning.

V. 4. — For the etymology of **אתמול** see AJSL 22, 251.

In the gloss **כִּי יַעֲבֹר** the prefix ' is due to dittography. **διήλθεν, & דעבר**.

**ואשמורה** was pronounced *washmuráh*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 18, and *Mic.* 69, ii. A night-watch lasted four hours. **אתמול** is a synonym of **אמש**; it denotes the first half of the (Jewish) day, from sunset to sunrise (see JBL 21, 65, n. 17). Cf. German *nächt* = *yesterday*, and *über Nacht* in the sense of *in a short time*. The poet means to say, in JHVH's eyes 1000 years are like 12 hours; nay, like 4 hours. The point is not, as Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 588 and Cheyne, *Psalms* (1888) p. 254 suppose, that a watch in the night has no duration at all to the unconscious sleeper. Far more correct is the rendering given in the fourth stanza of Isaac Watts' famous hymn, *O God, our help in ages past*, quoted in C. G. Montefiore's *Psalms* (London, 1901) p. 472:

A thousand ages in Thy sight  
Are like an evening gone;  
Short as a watch that ends the night  
Before the rising sun.

The chiliastic doctrine that the world will last for 6000 years of toil and labor, to be followed by 1000 years of sabbath rest for the people of God in the Messianic Kingdom, is based on the present passage (cf. 2 Pet. 3 8 and Sir. 18 10) combined with Gen. 1 and Dan. 9; see Harnack's article on *Millennium* in the new edition (1911) of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 18, p. 461.

V. 5. — For **ורמתם** see above p. 115. Mohammed says (e.g. Sur. 80 18) that God creates men *min nūṭḡatin*, i.e. from a drop of semen. Ehrlich, *Psalmen* (Berlin, 1904) reads **ורמתם**, and explains this as *der Samenfluss, woraus sie werden*; he renders the passage: *Im Keimen sind sie ein Jahr; am folgenden Morgen sprossen sie wie das Gras*. Zenner adopts Wellhausen's reading **ורע מתים שנה**, but combines this with **בירק**, which he substitutes for **בבקר**, thus rendering: *Das Geschlecht der Menschen wandelt sich wie Laub*. Oort, *Emendationes* (1900) p. 85 reads **ורמתם**, which seems to be a misprint (?) for **ורמתם**. Graetz, **ועמתנו**, *Du hast uns gezürnt*.

The reading **שנה שנה**, *year in year out*, is supported by **Θ** *τὰ ἐξουθενώματα αὐτῶν ἔτη ἔσσονται*, **Θ** *quae pro nihilo habentur eorum anni erunt*. **Ἐξουθενώ** (cf. Mark 9 12) = **ἐξουθενίζω** is derived from **οὐδέν**, *nothing*, and means *to regard as nothing* (cf. Hag. 2 3) or *worthless, to hold in little esteem, attach small value to it*; **ἐξουθενώμα** means here *vain pursuit, fruitless effort* (not *contempt*) = **רוח ורעיון הבל** in Eccl. 4 16. According to **Θ**, **Θ** should read *τὰ ἔτη αὐτῶν ἐξουθενώματα ἔσσονται*. **Θ** took **ורמתם** as a noun; so, too, **Σ**. **Θ** may have read **בוותם** instead of **ורמתם** (**ב** = **מ**, **ו** = **ר**; cf. *Mic.* 90, l. 6). The conjectures that **Θ** read **והמתם** (cf. Job 33 20) or **וריהם** (cf. Job 19 17) are not probable. **Σ** **שרבתהון** may be a corruption, or correction, of **שרבוניהון**, *their trifles*; **שרבונא** is a diminutive (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 131) of **שרבא**, *affair, matter* (cf. Arab. *ṣuwāiyun*). **Ⲱ** paraphrases, **ואין לא תייבין יהון**, *if they do not repent, Thou bringest upon them death; like sleepers* (i.e. *dead*) *will they be*.

**יהיו** belongs to **יחלה**; **יחלה** is a relative clause (GK § 155, g). Hupfeld-Nowack, correctly, *sie sind . . . wie das Gras das sprosst*.

For **יחלה** read **יחלה**; cf. Syr. **אחלה**, *to sprout*. **Σ** has **איך עופיא דתחלפי דבצפרא יעא ומחלה**.

V. 6. — For **וחלה**, after **יצין**, read **יחלה**, vertical dittography of **יחלה** at the end of the preceding verse.

Before **יצין** we may insert **יפרח**, which may have been displaced by the gloss **וחלה** = **יחלה**. Or **וחלה** (= **יחלה**) may be

a scribal error for **יפרח**. For similar erroneous repetitions cf. JBL 29, 106, n. 81.

**ימולל** must be derived from **מלל** = **אמל**, *to wither*, not from **מול**, *to remove the front or top, to crop* (Mic. 86, a; ZDMG 64, 710, l. 18). Cf. Ps. 37 2 and Is. 40 6-8; see my translation in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (Leipzig, 1902). **Ⲙ** has a double translation for **ימולל**: ἀποπέσοι, σκληρυνθείη (**Ⲙ** *decidat, induret*). **Ⲥ**, correctly, **חמא**, *withers*; but **Ⲙ** **מתמולל**, *cut off*.

For **וַיִּבֶשׁ** we had better point **וַיִּבֶשׁ**, *modus rei repetitae*; cf. last note but one on v. 3.

V. 7. — This verse (and v. 9) is a gloss on vv. 5 and 6. The meter of v. 7 is 2 + 2, whereas v. 9 has 3 + 3 beats.

Zenner inserts v. 7 after v. 10.

**נבהלנו** (cf. ZAT 29, 286, n. 4) does not mean *turbati sumus* (**Ⲙ** ἐταράχθημεν, **Ⲥ** **אתרלחן**) but *we are despatched, snatched away* by a premature death. Luther, correctly, *wir müssen plötzlich dahin*. The theological glossator wants to emphasize the point that the reason why our life is so short is that we have provoked God's wrath by our sins; cf. Rom. 5 12.

V. 8. — This verse is a gloss to v. 13; see above, p. 119.

Zenner suggested that **שׁת** might be taken as imperative.

For **עונותינו** (instead of **עונותנו**, *our suffering*; cf. v. 15) **Ⲥ** has **חטדין**, **Ⲙ** **חובנא**.

For **עלמנו** (instead of **עמלנו**) **Ⲙ** has **עֲוִיַּת טְלִיּוֹתָנָא**, *the sins of our youth* (cf. **חטאות נעורי**, Ps. 25 7). Cheyne (1904) reads **מעלנו**. **Ⲥ** **עלמין** = **Ⲙ** ὁ αἰὼν ἡμῶν. Briggs, *Thou hast set our youth in the sunlight of Thy face*.

For **למאור** read **לאור**; cf. Pss. 4 7, 44 4, 89 16, Prov. 16 15. **Ⲙ** εἰς φωτισμὸν τοῦ προσώπου σου; in Ps. 44 4 **Ⲙ** has ὁ φωτισμὸς τοῦ προσώπου σου for **אור פניך**. Cheyne (1904) suggests **למאול** (cf. AJSL 22, 250, below; 24, 124) for **למאור**.

V. 9. — **פנו** (**Ⲙ** **איתפניאו**) means *they decline*; so Briggs and Zenner (*gehn zur Neige*). Cf. **פנה היום**, Jer. 6 4, and Syr. **פנא לֵה יומא**, *the day declined*, **פְּנִיָּא**, *declining day, early evening*.

**בעברתך** is a tertiary gloss.

In the second hemistich, **כלינו שנינו כמורהנה**, we may sub-



stitute כלו for בליני, as suggested by Buhl in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. ונרמי שנין איך גוני, Ὡς τὰ ἔτη ἡμῶν ὡς ἀράχνη ἐμελέτων, 3 anni nostri sicut aranea meditabuntur. Cheyne (1904) suggests that Ὡς ἐμελέτων may be a corruption of ὡς ὁ μελετών, 3 sicut sermonem loquens (הגה). The original text, it may be supposed, was כגו שנינו בגונה, *our years are ended in sighing*; גונה (for גוני, a form like דיני) corresponds to Syr. גוּנָא (also גוּנָא, גוּנָא) *piping, peeping, chirping* of a bird, or *piping, crying, weeping* of a child; cf. German *piepsen*, Greek *πιπιίζειν*. Ὡς (followed by 33) took גונה (= Syr. גוני, *piping*) in the sense of Syr. גוּנָא, *spider*, reading בגונה, *like a spider*, instead of בגונה, *in piping, weeping*. For confusion of ב and כ cf. *Mic.* 92, ii. GB 172<sup>a</sup> s.v. הגה states that 33 suggest the reading גונה, *cobweb*; see also Buhl in Kittel. But in the original Heb. text of the present passage גונה meant *sighing*, not *cobweb*. RV has, for *a tale that is told*, in the margin: or *a sound* or *sigh*. Schultz in Strack-Zöckler's commentary renders *Gemurmel*. Kirkpatrick, *Psalms* (Cambridge, 1903) p. 551 translates: *we consume our years as a sigh*. In the Talmud, גונה, *spider* appears as כוכיא (miswritten כוכיא, כוכיא). We read *Suc.* 52<sup>a</sup> (cf. *Snh.* 99<sup>b</sup>; *BT* 3, 146; 7, 435): אמר רב אסי יצר הרע בתחילת דומה לחוט של כוכיא ולבסוף דומה כעבות העגלה, *Rabbi Asi said, The evil desire is at first like a thread of a spider, but finally it is like cart-ropes* (*Is.* 5 18). This word is found also in Persian in the form *kākiyā*; see Vullers' lexicon, 2, 779<sup>b</sup>; it may be a Semitic loanword; contrast Graetz's commentary, p. 510, and Delitzsch's *Psalmen* (1894) p. 590, n. 1.—Duhm renders, *Our years are like a weaver's shuttle, a sound (?) the days of our years; their utmost limit is 70 years*; he proposes to read, שנינו כמו ארג הגה ימי, שנותינו נבהם שבעים שנה. The emendation נבהם has been adopted by Gunkel and Zenner. According to the 'Arākh, כוכיא means *weaver's shuttle*; for ארג cf. *Job* 7 6.—In 33, בגונה (misread הגה כמו) was substituted for בגונה; הגה (for *higai*,<sup>23</sup> a form like שָׁכַר, שָׁכַר) means *moaning* in

<sup>23</sup> For *hegêh* instead of *higêh* cf. *JAOS* 28, 112.

Ez. 2 10 (קִינִים וְהָנָה 24 וְנָדָרִי) just as הָנִיג, from the allied stem הִנֵּג, has the same meaning; cf. Ps. 5 2, 39 4. Also in Gen. 3 16 we must read הִנֵּג instead of הָרִיג; see n. 2 to my paper cited in the first note on v. 1. For הָנָה in Job 37 2, where it refers to the thunder, cf. my paper *Die Posaunen von Jericho* in WZKM 23, 361. Ehrlich reads כִּמּוֹ הָנָה, *like them*, i.e. *in the same way*, for כִּמּוֹ הָנָה. — For ὥς ἀράχνη in 5 we must read ὥς ἀράχνη (so several MSS). Μελετάω means not only *to care for, attend to*, but also *to take care, take pains, labor*. 5 may have interpreted the hemistich to mean that we labor all our life like a spider, spinning webs which are easily destroyed (cf. Job 8 14, Is. 59 5; see AJSL 26 10) so that our endeavors are fruitless. This hemistich would then have nearly the same meaning as 5's rendering of the beginning of v. 5, τὰ ἐξουδενώματα αὐτῶν ἔτη ἔσονται, or rather, τὰ ἔτη αὐτῶν ἐξουδενώματα ἔσονται. Luther remarks in his *Scholae de Psalmis, habitae annis* 1513–1516, edited by J. K. Seidemann (Dresden, 1876) vol. 2, p. 96: *Opera inutilia sicut araneorum tela efficiunt*; contrast Luther's *Psalmen-Auslegung*, compiled by Chr. G. Eberle, vol. 1, p. 848 (Stuttgart, 1874). Matthias Claudius says in the fourth stanza of his well-known song *Der Mond ist aufgegangen*:

Wir stolzen Menschenkinder  
Sind eitel arme Sünder  
Und wissen gar nicht viel;  
Wir spinnen Luftgespinste  
Und suchen viele Künste  
Und kommen weiter von dem Ziel.

The last line but one of this stanza is based on the theological gloss in Eccl. 7 29: וְהָמָּה בִקְשׁוּ חֲשֹׁבוֹת רַבִּים, *they have sought out many inventions*, i.e. *devices, theories, speculations* (Luther, *aber sie suchen viele Künste*). — Cheyne (1904) renders v. 9: *Our doings are like spider's webs, our works have been crushed like locusts*. Cheyne's conjectures in his new commentary (cf. above, p. 118, n. 13) are like spider's webs, and the words of the Bible are crushed like locusts. He

24 וְנָדָרִי instead of וְנָדָרִי (cf. *Mic.* 72, vi) is due to haplography (נ omitted after ו').

translates e.g. v. 2: *Before Thou didst exalt Jerahmeel, and didst magnify Mişsur and Ishmael.* He thinks (2, 76) that **אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים** may be an editor's conjectural emendation of a corrupt form of the words **לְדִימֵן הָאוֹרָחִי**. More probable, however, **אִישׁ מֹשֶׁה = יִשְׁמַעֲאֵל**, and **הָאֱלֹהִים = יִרְחֻמָּאֵל**. *Sapienti sat!* Contrast *Mic.* 79, below. — **ⲧ** paraphrases the present hemistich: **שִׁיעִינָא יוֹמֵי חַיִּינָא הֵךְ הַבֵּל פּוֹמָא דְסַתְוָא**, *we end the days of our life like a breath from the mouth in winter.*

V. 10. — According to Herod. 1, 32; 3, 22 (cited by Hit-zig) Solon said, 'Ες γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπου προτίθῃμι, and the Ichthyophagi sent by Cambyses to the Ethiopians stated, ὀγδῶκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζῆς πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι.

The psalmist uses the feminine plural **שְׁנוֹתֵינוּ**; in the preceding gloss we have the masculine plural **שְׁנֵינוּ**.

**Ⲛ** has **לְמַחֲסֵן**, *hardly*, for **בְּנִבְרוֹת**; the Heb. phrase, however, does not mean *hardly* or *at the most*, but *in* (the case of) *great vigor* (intensive plural). The Ethiopic text of the Book of Jubilees, 23 15, where this passage is quoted, has *if he be strong*; cf. above, p. 118, n. 13. Leeser's Bible renders, *If by uncommon vigor they be eighty*. Similarly, Augusti and De Wette's translation of the OT, part 3 (Heidelberg, 1809) p. 237 has, *wenn mit grosser Kraft, achtzig Jahr*. Grotius explains, *si autem viribus eximiis praeditus aliquis fuerit*. AV *by reason of strength* is correct, and Luther's *und wenn es hoch kommt* is wrong. Graetz's conjecture **וְאֵם בֵּן נְבוֹרָת** is gratuitous.

For **רַהֲבָם** we must read **רַבָּם** (so Zenner). **Ⲯ** has **τὸ πλείον αὐτῶν**, **Ⲛ** **סוֹנָהוּן**, **ⲧ** **סוֹנָהוּן**, **Ⲛ** *amplius eorum*.

The second hemistich of this verse is corrupt; see above, p. 117. For **וְנַעֲפָה**, at the end, we must read **וְנַעֲפָה**, *modus rei repetitae*, and the preceding **כִּי גוֹ חַיִּשׁ** seems to be a corruption of **וְיִנְיַע חָנָם** (**נ = ב = כ**), cf. *Mic.* 74, ii; **ו = ע**; **י = נ**; **ש = ם**). Hubert Grimme's conjecture, in his *Psalmen-Probleme* (Freiburg, 1902) p. 88, **גְּרִישׁ**, *death*, is impossible. According to J. D. Michaelis (cf. above, p. 116) the meaning of the passage is: *wir segeln über die See des Todes d. i. wir gehen in jene Welt; wir sterben*. **Ⲯ** has **ὅτι**



ἐπῆλθεν πρᾶτης ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ παιδευθησόμεθα, § *quoniam supervenit mansuetudo et corripimur*, § מִשּׁוֹל רֵאִתָּא עֲלֵינוּ (cf. above, p. 117, n. 6). § may have read: כִּי בָאנוּ חֵן וְנִסָּר, and *corripere* in § may be a correction for *corrigare*. Briggs considers the first two hemistichs of v. 10 a prosaic gloss. He renders the third hemistich of v. 10, preceded by the end of v. 9: *As a sigh are the days of our years, and their breadth is travail and sorrow*.

V. 11. — This is a tertiary gloss to v. 7; cf. above, p. 119.

For וְכִירָאתָךְ read, with Duhm and Zenner וְכִי רֵאִה. Both יָדַע and רֵאִה mean here *to heed, to pay attention to* (cf. Gen. 39 v. 23). We pay no attention to the manifestations of God's wrath, but continue to sin, and are therefore snatched away by a premature death. Luther's *und wer fürchtet sich vor solchem Grimm?* is better than AV *even according to Thy fear, so is Thy wrath*, but Duhm's וְכִי רֵאִה is preferable to Luther's וְכִי יָרָא, although this reading is endorsed by Wellhausen and Gunkel.

V. 12. — לְמַנּוֹת יָמֵינוּ כִּן הוֹדַע does not mean *So teach us to number our days*,<sup>25</sup> but *Make us know accurately how to number our days*, i.e. Make us realize that our days are numbered. According to Hitzig, followed by Kirkpatrick, כִּן = וְכִירָאתָךְ, but this is a corruption of וְכִי רֵאִה. The adverb כִּן does not mean *thus* in this connection, but *truly, correctly*, Assyr. *kēniš*. We have the same כִּן in לְכֵן, *all right*, lit. *verily* (it is) *right*; see ZDMG 65, 565, l. 13. J. D. Michaelis, *Lehre uns unsere Tage richtig zählen*; Delitzsch, *zu zählen unsere Tage lehre recht verstehen*. Also in 1 S 23 17 וְגַם כִּן אָבִי יֵדַע שְׂאוּל means, *also my father Saul knows that very well*; so Nowack; contrast Driver *ad loc.* § אֹדְעִין מִנֵּינָא § דְּיוֹמִין; § has δὲν δεξιάν σου γράψουσιν, § *dexteram tuam sic notam fac*, for כִּן הוֹדַע. § read יָמִינְךָ instead of יָמֵינוּ. This mistake is endorsed by Briggs, who renders: *Thine hand so make us to know*, the hand as stretched out in anger and in doing awful deeds. Luther, *Lehre uns bedenken, dass wir sterben müssen*.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ps. 44 18.

<sup>26</sup> St. Jerome's *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos* renders: *ut numerentur dies nostri, sic ostende*.

For the second hemistich, see above, p. 119.

V. 13. — שובה = אפך, Ex. 32 12, 2 K 23 26, Jon. 3 9; עֲד־מְתִי תִפֹּר (תִּשְׁמֹר) = עֲד־מְתִי. This elliptical *how long?* is equivalent to our *enough!* Zenner reads עֲד שׁוּבָה מִתֵּךְ (or עַל), and translates: *Wende Dich wieder zu Deinen Kindern* (מִתֵּךְ!).

For עַל read עָלִי; see *Mic.* 70, γ.

V. 14. — For the phonetic corruption (*Mic.* 69, i) בְּבָקָר instead of בַּמֶּכֶר, with *abundance*, see above, p. 116.

V. 15. — Instead of עֲנִיתָנוּ (Θ ἐταπείνωσας ἡμᾶς), read עֲנִיתָנוּ, *our toil*, as in v. 8.

V. 16. — For אֵל read עַל. JHVH's work is to manifest itself on His servants: <sup>27</sup> as long as His chosen people suffer, He seems to be asleep and inactive; as soon as they prosper, it is evident that He is working for them, and this prosperity is to be vouchsafed not only to the present generation, but also to their children. Otherwise the heathen may say, Where is their God? Cf. my interpretation of Ps. 130, in *AJSL* 2, 100, n. 5. According to Ehrlich, this passage, especially the word הִדְרֵךְ, shows that the worshipers of JHVH were poorly fed and clothed at that time. Θ ὁδῆγη- σου seems to have read הוֹרֶה (not הִדְרֵךְ, Briggs) for הִדְרֵךְ; for the confusion of ו and ד cf. *Mic.* 71, below.

V. 17. — *Establish the work of our hands* means, Give stability and prosperity so that we may live in peace and enjoy the fruit of our labors (יָנִיעַ כְּפִים = מַעֲשֵׂה יָדַיִם, Hag. 1 11).

עָלֵינוּ is an erroneous repetition of עָלֵינוּ at the end of the preceding hemistich, and the final כּוֹנֵנָה יְדֵינוּ, without the meaningless (Wellhausen) עָלֵינוּ, may be a correction of the preceding clause (*Pur.* 47, 42). The explanation that עָלֵינוּ, *super nos* = *nos protegens*, is not satisfactory. The final כּוֹנֵנָה יְדֵינוּ וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵינוּ is omitted also by Zenner.

<sup>27</sup> Kirkpatrick explains, Manifest Thy power on their behalf.

## The Location and Etymology of יהוה יראה, Gn. 22 14

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THE explanations that have been offered for this difficult term have been largely conjectural. It is generally recognized that the pointing must be the same in both occurrences of the expression (both in the same verse), and that יראה should not be pointed as Qal the first time and as Niphal the second. So the Pesh., Old Latin, and Vulgate read Qal in both places; LXX and Luc. read as in our present Hebrew texts; the majority of modern scholars read Niphal in both places.

There is a difference of opinion as to the location of the sanctuary. The Samaritans placed the story of the interrupted sacrifice of Isaac at Mount Gerizim; the Jews, with equal tenacity, placed it at Mount Moriah, and the later editor of the chapter has rather clumsily trundled the Jewish tradition into the story.<sup>1</sup> Both these notions may be abandoned, and some other explanation sought.

By judicious omissions, substitutions, and changing of order, Gunkel<sup>2</sup> finds that the group of consonants יראל occurs three times in this chapter. For this reason he proceeds to identify the spot which is called in our present text יהוה יראה with the יראל of 2 Ch. 20 16, and locates it in the neighborhood of Tekoa. This at least has the merit of

<sup>1</sup> The reading יהמררה is plainly not the original in Gn. 22 2. Pesh. reads דאמרר. LXX την υψηλην and Aq. καταφανη show that both these authorities read דאמרר, which was probably the earliest reading. Aquila's translation evidently derives אמר from the root "to be evident, prominent"; cf. Assyrian *amaru*, "to see."

<sup>2</sup> *Genesis*<sup>3</sup>, in loco.



ingenuity. Holzinger<sup>3</sup> makes the significant note, "ohne Location, auf jeden heiligen Ort anwendbar," not attempting to identify it with any particular spot.

Gunkel is undoubtedly correct in his supposition that the original reading must have been אל instead of יְהוָה. Cheyne notices this,<sup>4</sup> and suggests the identification of this spot with the אל רא' of Gn. 16. Of this conclusion the present writer sees further indications.

The Hagar story of Gn. 16 is universally ascribed to J, with the exception of vv. 9-10, which are attributed to E. These two verses are each introduced by the stereotyped יהוה ויאמר לה מלאך יהוה, plainly from a later hand. With the exception of this introduction, they may be compared with two verses from the story of the interrupted sacrifice of Gn. 22.

Gn. 16	Gn. 22
9 שובי אל גברתך והתעני תחת ידיה	19 וישב אברהם אל נערו
10 הרבה ארבה את ורעך ולא יספר מרב	17 הרבה ארבה את ורעך בכוכבי השמים.....

In the comparison of these verses three observations may be made, not all of equal importance, but all bearing upon one another.

1. In 16 9 and 22 19 occurs the use of שוב with אל and the person.

2. 16 10 a and 22 17 a are identical.

3. 16 10 b and 22 17 b, while not in the same language, express exactly the same idea.

The commentators all agree in making 16 9-10 the work of some other hand, — probably of E, — but they offer no explanation of how the verses came to their present position. But it would seem that in the agreement with 22 17. 19 we have a clue, not only to the way in which they came to their present position, but also as to their author.

There are in 16 and 22 two traditions which endeavored to

<sup>3</sup> *Genesis, in loco.*

<sup>4</sup> Articles "Jehovah-Jireh" and "Isaac," in *EB*.

explain the etymology of a Premosaic divine name, for the **יהוה יראה** of 22 is undoubtedly the **אל ראי** of 16. The account in 16 is that of the southern school J; that in 22 is that of the northern school E. The principle underlying both traditions is that at some time the divinity, the **אל**, revealed to a worshipper the fact that he was unexpectedly watching him. That this fact was connected with Hagar in one chapter and with Abraham in the other is of no great importance. Other traditions are connected with two persons and pictured upon entirely different backgrounds, *e.g.* the naming of Beersheba.

The school by which the two accounts were edited after being welded together, JEr, recognized the kinship between these two chapters, and did what had been done in numerous cases, *viz.* supplemented the one account with a verse or verses from the other. Because there was such divergence between the subject matter of the two chapters in the form in which they came to JEr, the chapters themselves could not be combined. As men from the southern kingdom, the writers of the JEr school were interested primarily in the J document, which they supplemented from E, rather than the reverse, while E was left practically intact. The transition from **יהוה יראה** to **אל ראי**, while possibly not apparent upon first reading, is comparatively easy.

In 16 13 the **י** of **ראי** is not the first person pronominal ending. A great many of the **ל"ה** verbs, besides **ראה**, have a participial or abstract nominal formation ending in **-י** (among them may be instanced **בלי**, **דמי**, **מרי**, **לוי**, **בלי**, **שבי**, **קשי**, **תלי**), and the simplest explanation of **ראי** is that it is a similar participial or abstract nominal formation, so that **אל ראי** would be "the God of vision" or "the God of seeing," preferably the former, making **ראי** a synonym of **ראה**, "vision," in Is. 28 7.

In accordance with the suggestion made on pages 59–62 of the current volume of this JOURNAL, I would read in 22 11 **ויקרא אליו מלאך יהוה** instead of **ויאמר . . . . . וירא אליו האל**, and in 22 14 I would suggest that the verse originally read **ויקרא אברהם שם המקום ההוא אל ראי**. The

writer of 22 14 was in possession of a very old tradition that the name "God of vision" was used at that mountain because it was narrated that the אֵל once appeared there, substantially the same tradition which underlay 16 13. The JEr writer, following the practice of his school, substituted יְהוָה for אֵל, making the name read יְהוָה רֵא. This, however, was an unusual term, calling for some explanation. This explanation was placed in the margin: אֲשֶׁר יֹאמַר הַיּוֹם: בְּרַח יְהוָה יִרְאֶה, and soon crept into the text, which, under its influence, was altered to יְהוָה יִרְאֶה, the alteration in no way changing the meaning of the original.

If these conclusions be correct, they would militate against the claim of Wellhausen that רֵא is the name of an animal, and against the suggestion of Gunkel and others that it is the name of the place. They also complete the link in the chain of evidence that in the legends of Genesis אֵל is never used with the name of a place, as would be the case if polydemonism or polytheism were the prevailing thought of the time, but that it is always used with an attributive noun descriptive of some activity of the El.



## Notes on the Old Testament

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## 1. יִנָּר, Gen. 31 47.

The Jewish temple at Elephantine is called in Papyrus E, l. 14, and J, l. 16 (Sayce and Cowley's publication), אֲנוּרָא. The word has given rise to various explanations. Nöldeke has noted the possible derivation from Assyrian *êkurru*; Syriac *ëggârâ*, "roof," has been suggested; and most recently Sachau argues for the active formation *âgôrâ*, as in Syriac, the "assembler," hence "assembly," comparing Arabic *îâmî*, "mosque."<sup>1</sup> Preferring to remain in the field of the elder Aramaic I suggest identification with Rabbinic אֵינוֹר, "heap, hill," which is used in the Targums for a heathen altar; so the Targum to 2 Ki. 21 3 renders בְּמֹת. The word is then to be associated with יִנָּר, Gen. 31 47, in יִנָּר שְׁדֵרוֹתָא, "heap of witness," there rendered into Hebrew by גִּל. If יִנָּר is of *katl*-formation, as the Massora points it, it is related to אֲנוּרָא as Syriac *kabrâ* to *kebôrâ*, with the softening of ' to א; if it should be pointed יִנָּר, it is the same word, א having become δ. With the root-meaning of a heap, יִנָּר-אֲנוּרָא corresponds in meaning to Hebrew בְּמָה, primarily a "height" (e.g. Dt. 32 13). Both words experienced the same development in meaning, coming to be used of the sacred mound or elevation, then of the precinct, and finally of the temple reared there. בְּמָה appears to be used in the latter sense in 1 Ki. 11 7; more accurately the structure is a בֵּית בְּמָה, e.g. 12 31. We may compare the like development of denotation in Arabic *masjid* and Latin *templum*. The Aramaic-speaking Jews of Elephantine were thus using the Aramaic equivalent

<sup>1</sup> *Aramäische Papyrus*, 1911, pp. xxiii f.

of the Hebrew **במה** for their Yahwe-temple. What relation this native Aramaic word **נר-אנורא** has to Assyrian *êkurru*, I leave to Assyriologists to determine. There may have occurred in this case one of the numerous artificial assimilations of Semitic and Sumerian words.<sup>2</sup>

2. **שם על**, 1 Ki. 20 12.

This technical term for attacking a city has its exact parallel in the Syriac; *e.g.* in the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus, in Gottheil and Jastrow's *Semitic Study Series*, xiii, p. 17, l. 2, and p. 34, l. 6. The phrase in the latter passage, **סם על מדינתא**, is identical with the Hebrew. There can be no objection in finding the same meaning for **ל שים** in 1 Sam. 15 2. Compare English "set at, make a set at," and Dr. Cobb cites for me a word of Prince Hal to Falstaff: "We two saw you four set on four."

3. Sukkoth-benoth, 2 Ki. 17 30.

It occurred to me several years ago that the original reading for this obscure phrase was best represented by the Greek text B, which has *Ποχχωθβαυειθει*; *ποχ* is for *δοχ*, a mutilation of Marduk, and *βαυειθει* is an abbreviation of the name of the Babylonian goddess Zer-p(b)anitim. Stade, I find, has made the same suggestion in the Polychrome Bible, *ad loc.* There remains for explanation the syllable *-oth-*. This doubtless represents an original **ואת**, so that the text primarily read: And the Babylonians made (or better, worshiped) **את מרדך ואת (זר)בנית**.

4. The barbarous syllables in Is. 28 10.

Duhm in his brisk fashion has correctly criticised the current interpretation of these words as "precept upon precept, . . . line upon line, . . ." He would understand them as onomatopoetic sounds taken from some proverbial phraseology. May these syllables be a pedagogic by-word taken from the schoolmaster's instruction in teaching the alphabet? "Şade

<sup>2</sup> This note was read at the meeting of the Society in December, 1910. Professor Margolis has briefly made the same suggestion for identity of **אנורא** and **נר** in *JQR*, N.S. ii, 427.

for Šade, Kof for Kof," so we might say, but in this passage may be preserved elder or variant names of the letters ז and ק (cf. the names of ו and ת). The sing-song phrase may have attached itself to these letters because of their raucous rhyming. This interpretation would be in agreement with the pedagogic character of the chapter, and would heighten the contrast in the reference to "the strange lips and other tongue" with which Yahwe threatens to teach his people.

# 5. חוה, Is. 28 15.

In his paper entitled *Ro'eh and Hozeh in the Old Testament*, in the JOURNAL for 1909, p. 42, Dr. Jastrow argued that both these terms originally connoted divination; he showed that ראה is the *barû* of the Babylonian, the practitioner of intentional auspices, and חוה is the observer of accidental omens. Jastrow discussed in this paper every important instance of חוה but one, the present case.

In this passage the commentators have endeavored to understand חוה as though it referred to a "vision" obtained with Hell, *i.e.* some necromantic rite. But it is evident that חוה is synonymous with the parallel ברית, even as the Greek understood them, — διαθήκη . . . συνθήκη (Sym. συνθήκη in both places). But Jastrow's discussion gives a clue to the understanding of חוה in our passage. This word and its parallel ברית denote a covenant founded upon, consecrated by, auspices. Our verse then presents the two roots *barû* and חוה, of which the latter is to the former as, according to Jastrow's thesis, ראה is to ראה, which, with Jastrow, equals *barû*. This equation further reflects corroboration upon the derivation suggested by Jensen for the connection of Hebrew ברית with Babylonian *barû*, used of auspices.<sup>3</sup> Our biblical verse not only gives us a hitherto misunderstood word from the vocabulary of divination, but also unconsciously offers the etymology for the much discussed ברית.

There remains the discussion of the form of the word,

<sup>3</sup> See Haupt in the JOURNAL, 1900, 59. It may be noted that this derivation for ברית is not to be found in Kraetzschmar's monograph, *Die Bundesvorstellung*, 1896, in the articles on "Covenant," in HDB and EB, nor in the Oxford Dictionary.



which is pointed as the *Kal* active ppl. ; cf. רָאָה, v. 7. The pointing is impossible ; the word is to be equated with (the aramaizing?) חֲוֹת of v. 18, to which it bears the same relation as גִּלּוּת to גִּלּוּה. Accordingly point חֲוֹה, רָאָה (v. 7), and read probably חֲוֹתֶכֶם, v. 18.

# 6. מְבַלֵּן, Am. 5 9.

The usual interpretation of this verb connects it with the three biblical instances of the root בָּלַג, "be cheerful, smile," with which are to be associated the names בִּלְנָה and בִּלְנִי, denoting the deity's complaisant demeanor (cf. יִצְחָק). The corresponding Arabic root *balaja*, *balija*, means "be bright, joyous," the original idea being possibly that of the breaking of the dawn, in which case בָּלַג is a variation of the more common theme פָּלַג. But the usual rendering, "he flashes destruction upon the strong," is too forced an interpretation to commend itself to the present writer. I propose therefore to connect the verb with Arabic *walaja*, "come in," so that our Hifil is exactly parallel with יָבִיא (so to be read for יָבוֹא) in the parallel limb of the verse. *Walaja* is itself also to be connected with the theme פָּלַג, proceeding from the meaning "divide, break open," to that of "entering." *PLG*, *BLG*, *WLG*, are thus variations of the same theme. A parallel is to be found in the Hebrew verbs מָלַט, מִלַּט (occurring only in the derived stems), with which is to be connected Assyrian *balātu*, "live," for which, so far as I know, no connections have been established by the Assyriologists. The two Hebrew verbs, in the first stem, had the sense of "getting off with one's life."

# 7. הַכֵּל, Eccles. 11 5, etc.

Some instances outside of the Hebrew sphere may be adduced to Dr. Cobb's interesting paper on הַכֵּל as practically "the universe," in the JOURNAL, 1910, 24. In the Assyrian we have *Ea bān kala*, "Creator of the universe," Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 18 ; Sala as goddess *ša kullati*, Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, 331 ; the proper name *Sin-li'i-kullati*, "Sin is powerful over all," Tallquist, *Neobabylon. Namenbuch*, 319 ; and the royal title *lugal kalammu*, "king of the whole

(world)," Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumer. u. akkad. Königsinschriften*, 152. In the Syriac the divine title **מֶרָא כָּל**, "lord of all," is frequently found, e.g. in the Life of St. Ephrem, Brockelmann, *Syr. Gramm.*, Chrestomathy, p. 26, and Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, ed. Budge, p. 28, l. 21, *et passim*, here always written as one word. I may compare a similar epithet in one of the emperor Julian's orations, *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ὅλων Ἥλιος*, cited by Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, 258, n. 80, from Hertlein's ed., *Or.* iv, p. 203, 5. Shamash, the Babylonian sun god, is also hailed as god of all, Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, 254.

#### 8. The interrogative particle **מִי** or **מָה**.

In the JOURNAL for 1904, p. 95, the writer suggested that **מִי** in Am. 7 2, Ruth 3 16, is an interrogative particle, corresponding to Latin *num*, Greek *μή*. The same use is required for **מָה** in Jer. 2 5: **מָה מֵצְאוּ אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם בִּי עוֹל**, generally translated: "What falseness have your fathers found"; but this demands **מָה עוֹל**. Translate: "Did your fathers find falseness in me?" In the same way may be understood the unique expression in Dt. 5 23: **מִי כָּל בָּשָׂר וְנִי**, universally translated, "Who is there of all flesh who has heard," etc. But then we should have **מִי מִן**, as in Gen. 21 8. The difficulty is avoided by taking **מִי** as the interrogative: "Has any flesh heard?" It may be observed that the interrogative pronoun, used exclamatorily, has become a negative particle, as already in classical Hebrew, and then an interrogative particle.

#### 9. The correlative use of **כִּי** and **אֲכֵן**.

The most natural translation of **כִּי** in Is. 62 5: **כִּי יִבְעַל בְּנִיךָ בַחֲוֹר בְּתוּלָה יִבְעֹלוּךְ בְּנִיךָ**, is "as,"—"as a young man marries a virgin," etc. The commentators who translate it "for" have to supply the necessary "as," while Lagarde, recognizing the difficulty, proposed **כַּבְּעַל** (see Duhm, *ad loc.*). Further, **כִּי** is to be translated as "so," in Job 6 21, **כִּי עָתָה לִי הֵייתָם לִי** (reading **לִי** for **לוֹ**); here **כִּי** is supposed by some translators to be an error for **כֵּן**, but unnecessarily. These

cases prepare the way for observing the correlative use of **כִּי** and **כֵּן** in Is. 55 9: **כִּי גִבְהֵן שָׁמַיִם מֵאֶרֶץ כֵּן גִּבְהוּ דַּרְכֵּי**; cf. the immediately following correlation in v. 10 f., **כֵּן . . . כֹּאשֶׁר**. Again, **כִּי . . . כִּי** may possibly be taken as correlatives in Job 31 11 f., i.e. "as it is a felony, so it is a fire that burns even to hell." But the usage is more evident in Gen. 18 20, where Yahwe says, **וְעַתָּה סָדָם וְעֹמֶרְהָ כִּי רָבָה וְחַמָּתָם כִּי כְבֹדָה מֵאֵד**. The translation of RV, "because . . . and because," misses the terse rhetoric. Also the preferable rendering of **כִּי** as an asseverative particle (e.g. Dillmann, Gunkel) evades the logic of the passage, for the Deity is thereby represented as forestalling his inquisition (v. 21) with a verdict. Rather he is depicted as drawing a *prima facie* conclusion from the fame of Sodom and Gomorrah's iniquity: "as the bruit of them is great, so is (must be) their sin grievous." That is, there is enough evidence, as with a grand jury, to call for an indictment and lead to a judicial examination.

This correlative use of **כִּי** is etymologically the same as that of the preposition **כִּי**, e.g. in **כֵּעֵם כִּכְהֵן**. The basis of both the conjunction and the preposition is a demonstrative element (see Duval, *Grammaire syriacque*, 164), which lends itself to correlation, as in the case of "here and there"; an exact equivalent to this correlative use of a demonstrative element is found in the English "the . . . the" in comparisons.

Correlation is also evidently expressed by **אֲכֵן . . . כֵּן** in Jer. 3 20: "As a woman is false to her lover, so have you been false to me." Just below in v. 23 **אֲכֵן . . . אֲכֵן** may possibly be used in the same way: "Just as in vain are the hills, etc., so in Yahwe is Israel's help." **אֲכֵן** in these cases is to be connected with the Syriac *aikan*, "as" (which actually occurs in an Aramaic magical inscription from Nippur as **אִיכֵן**). For *â-ken* from *ai-ken*, cf. *ân* from *ain*, "where." Etymologically the proper correlative particles would be **כֵּן . . . אֲכֵן**, as in Jer. 3 20, but confusion has probably arisen in the literary tradition.<sup>4</sup> Further, **אֲכֵן** in 1 Ki. 11 2 may be

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Haupt's notes on **לֵכֵן** and **בֵּן**, *JBL*, 1910, 104.



the same word. Stade, *SBOT*, *ad loc.*, would change it to פִּן on the strength of the Greek  $\mu\eta$ . But the Greek may be right without faulting the Hebrew. אֵיכֵן, like the Syriac אֵיכֵן and the Latin *ut*, may have come to denote purpose or end.

## The Passover Papyrus from Elephantine

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I READ with great interest the article of Prof. W. R. Arnold in the JOURNAL, vol. xxxi, p. 1-33. But, though I agree with the distinguished author on many points, I cannot accept his conclusion that we have little reason for connecting Darius II with the directions given by Hananyah to the garrison of Elephantine for the celebration of the feast of passover, as found in Papyrus 6. Professor Arnold supposes that Hananyah is speaking, not by the authority of the Persian king, but on the commission of the priests at Jerusalem, and therefore he would read (ll. 3. 4): "This year, the fifth year of Darius the king, being sent from the king to Arsames, I, Hananyah, visited the city of Jerusalem" (or something of that sort). I object that this reading would not be complete. After having told that on his way from Darius II to Arsames he stopped over at Jerusalem, Hananyah could not immediately proceed: "Now, do ye count thus," etc. The suppletion, "I visited the city of Jerusalem," ought to be followed by: "when the priests gave me directions for the celebration of the feast of pass-over in order that I might deliver them to you" (or something of that kind). For such a long suppletion, however, we lack in the papyrus the required space. I believe, therefore, that Sachau was quite right in assuming that שלִיחַ in l. 3 is used impersonally, and I should like to read (ll. 3. 4): "And now, in this year, year 5 of Darius the king, (a message) was sent from the king to Arsames, relating to the celebration of the feast of passover by the Jews,"—if the last word of the lacuna is יְדוּיָא, —or, "relating to the cele-

bration of the feast of Maṣsoth,—if the last word of the lacuna is פִּטִּירִיָּה, *azyra*. There is no space for more than the suppletion, “relating to,” etc.; but this suppletion, as I have already pointed out, is postulated by the words which follow: “Now, do ye count thus,” etc. And if this cannot be doubted, the authority by which Hananyah is speaking must be the authority of Darius II.

I have a few remarks to add:

1. Professor Arnold says (p. 18) that there is something decidedly queer about the expression: “this year, the fifth year of Darius the king, a message was sent from the king to Arsames,” etc. He means that the time of the year ought to be mentioned also. In my judgment this opinion is perilously near the line of over-subtlety. At all events, Professor Arnold forgets that Hananyah is only giving a report of the rescript sent by Darius to Arsames. That in such a report often only the year of the king was mentioned is shown by Ezra 6 3, and this is valid not only if the decree of Cyrus is authentic, but also if it is falsified, for we may take for granted that a falsifier would not disregard the usual formula.

2. In the opinion of Professor Arnold Papyrus 11 sheds light upon Papyrus 6. Certainly Papyrus 11 gives us some information about Hananyah. From this papyrus we know that Hananyah was not Egyptian born. A few years before Papyrus 11 was written he came to Egypt. But that is all the information it gives. It is impossible to show from the contents of this document that Hananyah came to Egypt in the year 419. Professor Arnold has felt this himself, for (p. 28) he says that Papyrus 11 was written some time after 419, taking for granted (from the contents of Papyrus 6) the very point in question,—that Hananyah came to Egypt in 419. That being the case, he has no reason for affirming on the basis of Papyrus 11 that it can no longer be disputed that the interpretation he gives of l. 3 of the passover papyrus is correct (p. 30). It is possible that Hananyah came to Egypt long before 419.

3. Though I believe that Hananyah in Papyrus 6 is



speaking by the authority of the Persian king, I think that Professor Arnold is quite right in assuming that the pass-over papyrus gives us a picture of the new-born Judaism reaching out to reform and control the half-heathen Judæans of the Diaspora, for doubtless it was at the instance of this new-born Judaism that the Persian government concerned itself with the religious affairs of the Jews, or rather sanctioned and promulgated the priestly decrees.



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Concerning Hiram ("Hiram-abi"), the Phœnician Craftsman

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THE group of passages discussed in the present paper gives good illustration of the precarious character of some of the "accepted results" of modern textual criticism of the Old Testament, and also contains an excellent example of the Chronicler's literary method, in improving the older material which passed through his hands. In either respect the case here presented is a thoroughly typical one, namely the allusions in the books of Kings and Chronicles to Hiram, or "Hiram-abi," etc., the skilled Phœnician artificer who aided Solomon in building the Temple in Jerusalem, and whose name (in one form or another) often holds such a prominent place in fanciful accounts of the origin of the Order of Freemasons.

The name of this craftsman appears several times in I Kings, and always in the same form, *Hīrām*, חִירָם, the same name as that of the Tyrian king himself. The passages are repeated, with more or less embellishment, in II Chronicles, but there our Hebrew text seems at the first glance to give the name in several different forms, no one of which is quite like that in Kings. According to our modern



commentators, the Chronicler has preserved (*somewhere!*) the original form of the name, that in I Kings being in any case a corruption of the primitive reading; but just what the original form was, no one has succeeded in demonstrating, nor has any one given a plausible explanation of the supposed alteration of the Hebrew text.

It will simplify matters to state, at the outset, that our Hebrew text of Chronicles has everywhere חורם, *Hūrām*, instead of חירם, *Hīrām*, whether the name is that of the king or of the craftsman. This may possibly be due to alteration of the original text of Chronicles, but such alteration is not at all likely under the circumstances. In I Kings both the Hebrew text and the Greek version testify uniformly to *Hīrām*, and it would therefore be a most improbable thing for any scribe or redactor to alter *uniformly* to חורם in all the passages in II Chronicles. We may be reasonably sure, on the contrary, that the Chronicler himself wrote everywhere חורם. In our Greek Bible, Theodotion's rendering<sup>1</sup> of Chronicles would restore everywhere the form *Hīrām*, doubtless a mere harmonization of the familiar type.

The first of the passages in which Hiram the artificer is mentioned is **I Kings 7 13 ff.** (Grk. 7 1 ff.): "13 And King Solomon sent and took Hiram, [a man] from Tyre, 14 whose mother was a widow of the tribe of Naphtali, and whose father was a man of Tyre, a worker in bronze. And he [*i.e.* Hiram] was a most expert craftsman, . . . and he came to Solomon the king, and did all his work."

In **II Chron. 2 12 (13) f.** this is put, very characteristically, in the form of a letter from King "*Huram*" (2 10)<sup>2</sup> to King *Solomon*. The instructive value of this remarkable instance of the Chronicler's literary habit has been generally overlooked. Why the epistolary form, when the old material was preserved, and no essential changes in the narrative were made? Obviously because he was one who cared very

<sup>1</sup> For evidence of the fact that our Greek version of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, is the work of Theodotion, I may refer to my *Ezra Studies*.

<sup>2</sup> Observe what was said above in regard to the form of the name in Chronicles.

much for striking detail in the history of his people. He was a writer with a strong imagination and a love of the picturesque. That it was the Chronicler himself who was the scene painter, and not some older writer (or 'mid-rashic (!) source') from whose work he borrowed, I think I have made sufficiently clear in my *Ezra Studies*, pp. 229-238. As I have there demonstrated, the same manner of literary treatment, similar picturesque incidents, even the same favorite phrases, appear in all parts of the history alike; both where the older narrative is embellished by him, and also in the many passages which no one doubts are the work of his own hand. In the additions to Samuel and Kings (including the lesser alterations), in the whole of the Hebrew portion of Ezra and part of the Aramaic, and in a considerable part of Nehemiah, we see the characteristic handiwork of the same literary genius. Here, in the incident of the correspondence between the two kings, we have an especially fine example. The Chronicler—for we know that it was he, and no other—saw the opportunity to do here what always seemed to him important to be done. Wherever possible, he dwelt upon and magnified the relations of the Hebrews with foreign powers (*Ezra Studies*, p. 210), very much as his kindred spirit, Josephus, did at a later day (*ibid.*, pp. 151, 154). We shall see further illustration of this tendency in some of the remaining passages dealing with the incident of Hiram, the Phœnician expert.

To return to the letter. After greetings and compliments, the letter proceeds (**II Chron. 2 12 f.**): "12 And now:<sup>3</sup> I hereby send to you a skillful and wise man, לְחִירָם אֶבֶן; 13 the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and whose father was a man of Tyre. He is one who knows . . . [and then are enumerated the eleven things that he knew better than anybody else]; and he is able to carry out all the ideas which may be given him by thy wisdom or by the wisdom of my lord, thy father David."

<sup>3</sup> וְעַתָּה, the Hebrew equivalent of the Aramaic וְכַעֲנַת and the Syriac ܠܝܚܝܡܐܢܐ (see the *Journal of the Am. Oriental Society*, vol. xx, p. 265); cf. II Kings, 5 6, 10 2 f.

Here are the statements of the Book of Kings, varied in the Chronicler's own way. The substitution of "Dan" for "Naphtali," which is probably not a real contradiction, was made for some good reason which we have no means of knowing. The exaggeration in the form of statement is harmless.

The chief point of interest is the form in which the name of the craftsman is given, **הורם אבי**. It is at present the well-nigh universally accepted view that 'the Chronicler has preserved the original form,' that in Kings being wrong, and that the name of this expert was "*Huram-abi*"; so the commentaries, dictionaries, histories, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, and so on.<sup>4</sup> A few would prefer the form "*Hiram-abi*," to be sure. This conclusion involves not only 'emendation' of three passages in Kings, but also of the other passages in Chronicles, as will presently appear.

The fact is, the word **אב** here is *not* a part of the proper name, but the noun meaning "right-hand man," "trusted counsellor," as in Gen. 45 8, I Macc. 11 32, Greek Esther 13 6 (add. to 3 13), 16 11 (add. to 8 12), etc.; cf. also Judg. 17 10, 18 19. The correct rendering is: "I hereby send to you a skillful and wise man, Hiram, *my trusted counsellor*." The attempt has frequently been made, of course, to render it in this way here, — ever since the Greek version, — but the attempts all seemed to shatter on the *other* principal passage in Chronicles, as will presently be seen. Hence the general acquiescence in the view now prevailing.

The other occurrences of the name in the older narrative are found in **I Kings 7 40. 45**: "40 And Hiram made . . . [the various utensils for the temple], and Hiram finished all the work which was given him to do." And again: 45 [after the enumeration], "the things which Hiram made for King Solomon in the house of Yahwè."

These two passages are reproduced in **II Chron. 4 11. 16**. The first is unaltered, except in the form of the name: "11 And Hiram made . . ." [the utensils which are named].

<sup>4</sup> Our English renderings (Authorized Version and Revised Version) are so evidently mistranslations as to require no discussion.



The second passage is very characteristically improved: 16 [after the enumeration] "these and all the utensils belonging thereto made **הוֹרָם אָבִיו לְמֶלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה** for the house of Yahwè."

This latter passage is regarded as decisive, showing that our Hebrew texts have gone through a complicated process of corruption. The accepted translation, which seems to receive strong support from the wording of the parallel passage in Kings, renders as follows: "These and all the utensils belonging thereto made *Huram-abi* for King Solomon for the house of Yahwè." To be sure, the reading **אָבִיו** gives a good deal of trouble, and not a few have preferred to regard *this* as the original form of the 'second element' of the name, and to suppose this founder of the Masonic Order to have been called "*Huram-abiu*"<sup>5</sup> (or perhaps "*Hiram-abiu*").

But the accepted translation of the passage is wrong. Here, again, the noun **אָב** has the same meaning as before. He who had been styled (*by the Chronicler*) "the right-hand man" of the king of Tyre is now, with one of the Chronicler's own literary touches, termed "the right-hand man of King Solomon." The construction is an Aramaic one, paralleled several times in the later Hebrew of the Old Testament; see the passages cited in König, *Syntax*, p. 256 f. The correct rendering of the verse is: "These and all the utensils belonging thereto made Hiram, *the trusty counsellor of King Solomon*, for the house of Yahwè." As in the former passage by the incident of the letter from the one king to the other, so here again by the use of the word **אָב**, the Chronicler has increased the interest of the narrative and added to its picturesqueness. It is an example of his skill that ought not to be overlooked.

The name of the Phœnician craftsman, as originally written in the narrative of Kings, was undoubtedly *Hiram*, the same as that of the king of Tyre. The Chronicler probably wrote both in the form *Huram*, but we certainly have no good reason to prefer that form. The Hebrew text is sound in all of the passages involved, both in Kings and in Chronicles.

<sup>5</sup> Often written *Abiv*, or even *Abif*.

## The Origin of the Names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D.

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IN writing the article "Demons, Angels, and Spirits (Hebrew)" for Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, considerable material was gathered on the names of individual spirits which the scope of the article — a part of an article on the spirits of all nations — made it impossible to use. The material is, accordingly, presented here.

In the earlier time the various angels and demons in which the Hebrews believed were not sufficiently personal to bear individual names. Apart from Satan, Azazel, Rahab, Leviathan, and, possibly, Lilith, we find only names for classes of beings. A great change is traceable in the literature of the second century B.C. and the centuries which followed. Proper names were then bestowed upon many spirits both good and bad. Two of these names, Gabriel and Michael, occur in the Book of Daniel (8 16 10 13. 21), but the apocryphal literature affords a considerable number.

The following is an alphabetical list of the good angels whose names are given in the various books:

**Adnârel** (according to Schwab<sup>1</sup> = אֲדִנְיָאֵל = אֲדִנְיָאֵל, 'my Lord is God'), an angel who, as second in rank, controls a fourth of the year or one of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 14). The name is a variant of *Narel* (see below), which appears in the same context.

**Arsyalalyur**, an angel who, according to Dillmann's text of En. 10 1, was sent to Enoch with a message from God. One MS reads *Asrêlyēr*, and the Greek texts read *Istrael* and *Ouriel*. The name is, therefore, a corruption of *Israel* or *Uriël*.

<sup>1</sup> *Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie*, Paris, 1897, p. 42.

**Asfael**, an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20); probably a corruption of *Joseph-ēl*, 'God adds' (or 'repeats'),<sup>2</sup> or 'increase of God.'

**Berekeel**, an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 17). The name means 'my blesser is God' or 'my blessing is God.'

**Fanuel**, an angel who presides over penitence and the hope of eternal life (Eth. En. 40 9), who administers punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3), and who is one of the four archangels of the throne (40 2. 9. 10 71 7-13). The name is a corruption of *Penuel* (see below).

**Gidaiyal** or **Gedael**, meaning 'fortune of God' or 'divine good fortune'—an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20).

**Gabriel**, 'man of God' or 'hero of God.' He is a good angel, who explains visions to Daniel (Dan. 8 16 10 4 ff.) (Eth. En. 9 1), an archangel (Slav. En. 21 3), one of the four angels of the throne (Eth. En. 40 2. 9. 10, 71 7-13, Sib. Or. ii, 215), is over the serpent, Paradise and the cherubim (Eth. En. 20 7), is over all powers (40 9), is an angel of punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3). He conducted Enoch into God's presence when Enoch became an angel (Slav. En. 21).

**Heel** (*i.e.* *hai-ēl*, 'life of God'), an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20).

**Helemmelek** (*i.e.* *hālammelek*, 'is it for the king?' or, according to Halévy, corrupted from אֱלִימֶלֶךְ), an angel who rules three months of the year, or one season (Eth. En. 82 13).

**Helayaseph** or **Hiluyaseph** (*i.e.* *haleyōseph*, 'is it for increase?'), an angel of one of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 17).<sup>3</sup>

**Iyasusael** (*i.e.* *yasus-ēl*, 'may God exult'), an angel of a fourth part of the year (Eth. En. 82 14).

**Iyelumiel** or **Elomeel** (perhaps a corruption of 'alônê-ēl, 'trees of God'), an angel of a fourth of the year (Eth. En. 82 14).

**Keel** (*i.e.* *kēēl*, 'like God'), an angel of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 20).

**Kesbeel** or **Kasbeel** (probably a corruption of *kebes-ēl*, 'fuller of God' or 'cleanser of God'), an angel who reminded others of their oaths (Eth. En. 69 13).

**Meleyal** (*i.e.* *malē-ēl*, 'fullness of God'),<sup>4</sup> an angel who rules three months of the year (Eth. En. 82 13).

**Milkiel** (Eth. En. 82 13), corrupted to *Melkeyal* (v. 15), an angel who rules the summer months. His name means 'my king is God.' He was also called 'Tamaani,' and 'sun' (Eth. En. 82 15).

**Michael** (*i.e.* 'who is like God?'), the guardian angel of Israel (Dan. 10 13. 21). He is one of the good angels (Eth. En. 9 1), one of the four angels of the throne (40 2. 9. 10, 71 7-13, Sib. Or. ii, 215), is set over the ser-

<sup>2</sup> According to Schwab, p. 68 = אֲסַפִּיאל, 'angel of reunion.'

<sup>3</sup> Schwab, *op. cit.* p. 58, אֱלִיָּסֶף.

<sup>4</sup> According to Schwab, *op. cit.*, 172, 'God fills [the world].'



pent Semyaza and the host of evil angels to punish them (Eth. En. 10 11), is accordingly accounted one of the angels of punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3), is set over the best portions of men and peoples (20 6), is slow to anger (40 9), commands another angel (60 4. 9. 11), discusses fallen angels (67 11), talks to other angels (68 4 69 14), conducts Enoch to Paradise (24 6), talks with him (60 6), takes Enoch to God, disrobes Enoch of his earthly garments, and puts on him his angelic clothing (Slav. En. 22 6 ff.).

**Narel** (i.e. 'light of God'), an angel who rules three months of the year (Eth. En. 82 18).

**Penuel**, one of the four angels of the throne (Sib. Or. ii, 215). His name, 'face of God,' is taken from Gen. 32 31, and is most appropriate to an angel who stands near to God. In the Enoch literature the name is corrupted to *Fanuel*.

**Rafael** (i.e. 'healer of God'), one of the four angels of the throne (Sib. Or. ii, 215). He was sent to heal Tobit's blindness, to give Sarah to Tobit, and to bind Asmodæus (Tob. 3 17). He goes with the young Tobias (Tob. 5 4-6. 21), teaches him to drive away an evil spirit (Tob. 6), is obeyed by Tobias as to the demon (Tob. 8 2 ff.), is sent by Tobias to Media (Tob. 9 1 ff.), on his return opened Tobit's eyes (Tob. 11 2 ff., 7 ff.), and finally revealed his identity (Tob. 12 15).

**Raguel**, an angel who took vengeance on the earth and luminaries (Eth. En. 20 4). The occurrence of his name in Eth. En. 23 4 instead of *Rufael*, shows that it is a corruption of that name.

**Ramiel** (i.e. 'my high one is God,' or, if the first element was *raḥam*, 'my compassionate one is God'), a good angel who presides over true visions (Apoc. Bar. 55 3 63 6). The Enoch apocalypses regard Ramiel as one of the fallen angels or demons. His presence in Baruch in a good character shows that the traditions were not uniform.

**Rufael** (a variant form of *Rafael*<sup>5</sup>), a good angel (Eth. En. 10 4 13 1), one of the four angels of the throne (Eth. En. 40 9 71 7-13) who acts as Enoch's conductor (22 3. 6 32 6). He is an angel of punishment (54 6; cf. 53 3), and was set over the sicknesses and wounds of men (cf. 40). He is said once to have talked with Michael concerning fallen angels (68 4).

**Suryan**, according to Dillmann's Ethiopic text one of the good angels (Eth. En. 9 1). The name is a corruption of *Rafael* as the Gr. text and better Ethiopic MSS show.

**Uriel** (i.e. 'light of God,' or 'my light is God'). He spoke to Enoch (Eth. En. 19 1), and afterward became his conductor (21 5. 9 33 3); he revealed to Enoch various astronomical secrets (72 1 74 2 75 3 79 6 80 1 82 7). He presides over thunder and trembling (20 2). He was sent at various times to Ezra (2 Es. 4 1 7 1 10 28. 29), and talked with him at various times, answering his questions (4 26. 36 5 15. 20 10 30 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> *Rufael* (i.e. *Rôfael*) is the Hebrew form; *Rafael*, the Aramaic.

**Uryan**, a good angel (Eth. En. 9 1). The name is a corruption of *Uriel*. Charles emends the text to *Uriel*.

**Zalbesael** or **Zēlbeseāl**, one of the angels of the seasons (Eth. En. 82 17). Perhaps the name is a corruption of *zalpath-ēl*, 'God's sprinkler.' He would then be the angel of the rainy season. Schwab, *op. cit.*, 123, explains it as **לִבְשָׁאֵל**, *Zeh-lebh-she-ēl*, 'here is the heart of God.'

**Zutel** or **Zotiel**, a guardian of Paradise (Eth. En. 32 2). Perhaps the first element of the name is to be connected with the Aramaic *zûṭī*. The name would then mean 'little one of God.'

The conceptions of **Demons** which appear in the Apocryphal literature are of four distinct types. Two of these regard the arch-demons as fallen angels, but in one type this angelic genesis of demons is much more prominent than in the other. In the canonical literature Satan was regarded as one of the number of the Divine beings who formed Jahweh's court (Job 1. 2). The steps by which in the canonical literature he became the great opposer of good may easily be traced.<sup>6</sup> In one type of Apocryphal thought Satan became the arch-demon, who tempted man and led him astray (see Wis. 2 24 and Slav. En. 3 31). These writers simply took Satan over from the canonical literature, and his semi-Divine or angelic origin apparently was forgotten. The author of Wisdom apparently moved in an atmosphere of philosophic thought in which neither angels nor demons played any considerable part. The author of Slavonic Enoch, though he makes much of angels, has almost nothing to say of demons. He probably believed in them, but the interest of his narrative led him to place the emphasis elsewhere. These writers call Satan by the Gr. tr. of his name, *Diabolos*, or 'devil.' They identify him with the serpent of Eden, and account for the origin of sin by his agency in leading man astray.

The authors of Eth. En. 1-36 and of the Enoch Parables (En. 37-70) represent a different type. They are much more keenly interested in tracing the origin of demons and of evil. Instead of taking one arch-demon from the canonical literature, they go back to the narrative of Gen. 6 2-4, and account for the origin of demons and of sin by elaborat-

<sup>6</sup> Cf. e.g. Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, iv, 597 ff.

ing the hint there given. Persian dualism had sufficiently influenced their thought, so that matter was to them corrupt. That angels should come to earth and have connexion with human wives implied, they thought, a previous rebellion and sin on the part of the angels. The hint which supplied the point of departure for this view was probably given by the story of Satan in the prologue of the Book of Job. These angelic hosts who sinned were numerous, but they were led by certain archangels, whose names are given somewhat differently by the two writers. These with their followers landed on Mount Hermon, and after satisfying themselves with human wives taught men various sins. One taught enchantments, another astrology, another the making of swords, another the art of abortion, and another that of writing. The one who taught the use of coats of mail and of swords also seduced Eve (cf. *Eth. En.* 6-9 and 69). These writers, like the author of the J document of the Hexateuch, regard the arts of civilization as having had a common origin with sin. Among the names of these arch-demons the canonical names of Satan and Azazel are found (see the list below), but these play a comparatively small part. The rôle of Azazel is more prominent than that of Satan. The larger number of these angels (and to these are attributed the most hurtful influences) are called by names not found in the canonical literature. What these names are and how they originated is pointed out in the alphabetical list of demons below. It appears from these names that many of them were called by names appropriate to angels. The degradation of these names to demons was in accord with the theory that they were fallen angels. In one passage (*Eth. En.* 21 6) they are identified with the stars. Having introduced sin into the world, these fallen angels were regarded as the presiding geniuses of various forms of transgression and corruption. They were themselves, however, thought to be already undergoing punishment. They were bound and were being tormented by a great fire (*Eth. En.* 21 5-10 54 1-5).

The Book of Tobit represents a third type of thought. In



it but one demon appears, — *Asmodæus*, — and he is clearly, as his name implies, of Persian origin. The author of this book had so come under Persian influence, probably by living in the East, that its demonology or demonological vocabulary influenced him more than did that of the canonical, or even the apocryphal, writings of his people.

A fourth type of thought is represented by The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Ascension of Isaiah. In these works the demonology, while very real and all pervasive, is made up in a rational way, and such contact as it has with canonical thought is at quite a different angle of that thought. The world is thought to be pervaded by evil spirits, but these spirits are simply the personification of the evil propensities of man, — jealousy, lust, pride, chicanery, injustice, rapacity, etc. Writers who thus made evil spirits of the sinful tendencies of men about them moved in a somewhat different realm of thought from those who connected these evil spirits with the story of Gen 6 2-4, and gave to these spirits orthodox Hebrew names. Over this mass of evil spirits the two writers under consideration believed that *Beliar* presided. *Beliar* to them takes the place of the devil in Wisdom and the Secrets of Enoch, of *Semyaza* in the other Enoch books, and of *Asmodæus* in Tobit. *Beliar* is a form of *Belial*. *Belial* had been used by Nah. 2 1 (1 15) as the name of a great evil power. Possibly *Belial* was an old name for *Sheol*, though that is uncertain. If it were so, it is easy to see why these writers took it as the name of the prince and leader of all evil and destructive spirits.

To most of the Jews of the period, as indeed to most of the men of that time, the world was full of supernatural agencies. As there were angels to accomplish every good act, so there were demons or evil spirits to perpetrate every evil deed or to prompt every sinful impulse. Some of the writers, however, manifest no trace of this demonology; such are Ben Sira and the authors of the Books of Maccabees. The subject-matter of Sirach as well as the philosophical point of view of Ben Sira excluded any reference to them, while the author of 1 Mac. had probably come suffi-

ciently under incipient Sadduceeism so that demons had little or no place in his thought. To most men, however, demons in one form or another were very real, and played an important part in life.

The various fallen angels and demons mentioned in the literature, together with the functions assigned to each, are as follows :

**Akibeel** was, according to Dillmann's Ethiopic text, one of the arch-demons who led the hosts of revolting angels that married human wives (Eth. En. 6 7). The Gr. and Charles's Eth. text read *Kokabel* (see below). The name is a corruption of *Kokabel*.

**Amezyarak** (Dillmann), **Amiziras** (Charles), is the angel who taught conjurers and root-cutters their arts (Eth. En. 8 3). The Gr. text reads *Semiazas*, and the name is undoubtedly a corruption of *Semyaza* (see below).

**Ananel** (Eth. *Khananel*, 'favor of God'), one of the arch-demons who brought sin to earth (Eth. En. 69 2).

**Anani**, according to Dillmann's text one of the arch-demons who descended on Mount Hermon (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Ananel*, of which the name is in any case a corruption.

**Arazyal** (a corruption of *Sahariel*,<sup>7</sup> 'my moon is God') was one of the arch-demons who came to earth and married human wives (Eth. En. 6 7).

**Aristiqifa** (Dillmann), **Artaqifa** (Charles), one of the arch-demons who descended to earth and brought sin (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is probably a corruption of *Arakab*, 'rider,'<sup>8</sup> from Heb. *rākāb*.

**Armaros**, one of the archangels who fell (Eth. En. 6 7). He taught men conjurations (8 3). Dillmann thought the name a corruption of the Heb. *herem*, 'something devoted.' Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 344, takes it to be *חֲרָם*, 'he consecrates a mystery.' Charles, *Enoch*, 1912, p. 16, derives it from *חֲרָם*, an incantation.

**Armen**, one of the leaders of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is evidently a corruption, but whether of *Ramiel*, which occurs in 6 7, or of *Arakiel*, which occurs in a Gr. text, it is difficult to say. If *Arakiel* is the name, it is perhaps a corruption of *Baraqel* (see below). Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 344, would derive it from the Aramaic *אַרְקֵאֵל*, 'God's earth.' This is very improbable.

<sup>7</sup> So Charles, *Eth. Version of the Book of Enoch*, 1893, pp. 14 ff., n. 23. In the *Book of Enoch*, 1912, he emends the name to *Sariël*.

<sup>8</sup> Charles, *Eth. Version*, p. 227. Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 344, derives it from the Aramaic *אַרְכָּב*, 'he causes to ride,' 'the charioteer.'

**Armors** (Dillmann), **Armārōs** (Charles), a leader of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). Probably the same name as Armaros (see above). One form of the Gr. makes it *Arearos*, as though from the Heb. 'ārar, 'to curse.'

**Asael** (Heb. 'asahēl, 'God has created') was one of the leaders of the evil angels (Eth. En. 6 7). The name was borne by one of David's nephews (cf. 2 S. 23 24 2 18 ff.).

**Asbeel** (חֲשַׁבְאֵל, 'thought of God'), one of the archangels of evil, who led good angels to unite with women (Eth. En. 69 5). The name may possibly be a variant of *Asael* or *Azazel*.

**Asmodæus** (from Pers. *Aeshma-daeva*,<sup>9</sup> 'evil deity or spirit'), an evil spirit who had connection with a certain Sara, and who killed seven husbands as soon as they had married her (To. 3 8). He was bound by the angel Rafael (3 17), and finally, by Rafael's directions, driven away (8 2 ff.).

**Asradel** (Dillmann), **Asderel** (Charles), one of the evil angels who taught men the course of the moon. Charles<sup>10</sup> holds that the name is a corruption of *Sahariel*.

**Azazel** (supposed to mean 'entire removal' *BDB*), one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). Probably originally עֲזַזְאֵל, 'strong one of God.' He is the wilderness demon of the canonical literature. He taught mankind metal work (8 1. 2) and wickedness (9 6 10 8). He is told by Enoch that he should have no peace (13 1); chains are prepared for him and his hosts, that they may be bound and cast into the abyss (54 5). He is to be judged by the Messiah (55 4).

**Baraq'al** (Dillmann), **Barāqāyāl** (Charles), (better with some MSS *Baraqel*, i.e. 'lightning of God'), the evil angel who taught astrologers their arts (Eth. En. 8 8).

**Baraqel**, one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is the true form of the preceding one.

**Basasael** (Dillmann), **Basasaēyal** (Charles), one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The form of the name in Greek (Σαμύλ or Σεμύλ) suggests that it is a corruption of *bešami'el*, 'in the name of God.'

**Batrael** (Eth. En. 69 2, *Bataryal*), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7, 69 2). Charles's text makes the name *Batarel*. It is, I think, a corruption of *bethū'el*, which is in turn a corruption of *methū'el*, 'man of God.'<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, p. 150.

<sup>10</sup> *Book of Enoch*, 1912, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> The derivation of Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie*, p. 90, and Schmidt (*Harper Memorial*, ii, 344), בְּתַרְאֵל, 'hinder part of God,' is most improbable.



**Behemoth**, the male primeval sea-monster whose waters were embosomed with those of the female monster Leviathan to start the process of creation. The idea is borrowed from the Bab. creation epic (cf. Barton, *JAOS*, xv [1890], 17-20). Leviathan was a Heb. name for the Bab. dragon *Tiāmat*. In Job 41 Leviathan had been used as a poetical name for the crocodile, some mythological features having been mingled there with the description. In connection with the crocodile an interpolator of Job had described the hippopotamus under the name Behemoth, the plural of *behēmāh*, 'cattle,' using the plural intensively. The author of the Enoch Parables, finding Behemoth associated with Leviathan in Job, concluded that Behemoth was the name of the primeval male demon-dragon.

**Beliar** (same as **Belial**, 'worthless,' Hastings' *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*, [vol. ii, 458]). The chief of demons and evil spirits in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Ascension of Isaiah (cf. Test. of Reuben 2 1 6 3, Simeon 5 3, Levi 19 1, Issachar 6 1 7 7, Dan 1 7 4 7 5 10, Naphtali 3 1, Joseph 7 4, and Benj. 7 1. 2; Ascen. Isa. 1 8. 9 2 4 3 11. 13 4 2. 4. 16. 18 5 1. 4. 15).

**Danel** (i.e. *dani-el*, 'my judge is God'), one of the troop of evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7, 69 2). Spelled *Danyal* in 69 2.

**Devil** (i.e. *diabolos*, 'calumniator,' 'slanderer' — the Gr. tr. of *Satan*). The arch-demon who tempted Adam and caused him to sin in Eden (Wis. 2 24, Slav. En. 31 8). These writers identify the Devil with the serpent of Gen 3.

**Ezeqeel**, one of the host of evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). The Gr. form of the name, *Ezekiel*, shows that it was originally identical with the name of a Hebrew prophet, and meant 'may God strengthen.'<sup>12</sup>

**Gadreel** (i.e. *gadar-ēl*, 'wall of God'),<sup>13</sup> the angel who led Eve astray, taught men murder, the use of weapons and coats of mail (Eth. En. 69 6). His functions in the Enoch parables are similar to those assigned by the first Enoch apocalypse to Azazel. Perhaps *Gadreel* is a corruption of *Azazel*, and its identity with a good Hebrew etymology merely accidental.

**Izezeel** (Dillmann), **Azāzēl** (Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is, perhaps, a corruption of *Ezeqeel*, *יְהִי־עֶזְקֵאל*, of the list in 6 7,<sup>14</sup> to which it corresponds. Charles takes it to be a corruption of *Azazel*.

**Kesdeya**, an evil archangel who taught men the smiting of spirits and demons, the art of abortion, etc. (Eth. En. 69 12). This is simply *כַּשְׁדָּא*, 'Chaldean.' The nation of astrologers (cf. Dan 2) which de-

<sup>12</sup> Schmidt's derivation (*Harper Memorial*, ii, 344), as an Aramaic compound, *חַשְׁקֵאל*, 'sky of God,' is very improbable.

<sup>13</sup> Charles takes it to be *שְׂרַיָאֵל*, 'God is my helper.'

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Charles, *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, p. 227.

stroyed Judah is here made one of the demons who fell from a high estate.

**Kokabiel** or **Kokabēl** (*i.e.* 'star of God'), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7 69 2). He taught men the signs (8 3).

**Leviathan**, the primitive female sea-dragon and monster of evil. See above on *Behemoth*.

**Nuqael** (Dillmann; *Neqael*, Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Ezekiel*.

**Penemue**, an evil archangel who taught men to discern bitter and sweet, wisdom and writing (Eth. En. 69 3 ff.). Schwab, *op. cit.*, 223, regards it as פְּנִימָה = 'the severe looks of God.' One MS gives the name *Tuniel*; it is probably a corruption of *Nathaniel*, 'gift of god.' Halévy and Charles take it to be פְּנִימָה, 'the inside.'

**Ramuel** (Dillmann), **Ramiel** (Charles), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Perhaps from *Rahamiel*, 'my compassionate One is God,' or *Ramiel*, 'my exalted one is God.'

**Rumael**, an evil archangel (Eth. En. 69 2). Perhaps a corruption of *Rum'el*, 'height of God,' or *ram-el*, 'God is exalted,' or of the preceding name.

**Rumyal**, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2), a corrupt duplicate of the preceding.

**Samsapeel**, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). The name is a variant form of *Simapisiel* (see below).

**Saraquyal**, according to Dillmann's text, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads better, *Baraqiyal*, which makes it the same as *Baraqel* (see above).

**Sartael**, according to Dillmann's text, one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Satarel*. It is probably a corruption of *Sathar'el*, 'covering of God.' Schmidt takes it as an Aramaic formation, meaning, 'God's side.'

**Satan**, an archangel who, having turned away with the ranks of those below him, is hurled to the abyss (Slav. En. 29 4 31 4). He is the chief of the demons (Test. Gad, 6 7). Although he is being punished (Eth. En. 53 3), the earth-dwellers are subject to him (54 6). In Eth. En. 65 6 'satans' signifies demons in general. Satan is of course taken over from the canonical books.

**Semyaza**,<sup>15</sup> the leader of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 3. 7 69 2). The name is apparently the Heb. *shemī'az*, 'my name is mighty,'<sup>16</sup> *shem* standing as in Lev. 24 11 instead of the name of God. He was the

<sup>15</sup> Also spelled *Shamiazāz*, Eth. En. 6 7 (Charles).

<sup>16</sup> Schmidt, *Harper Memorial*, ii, 343 ff., derives it from the Aramaic שְׂמִיאָה דָּרַר, 'he sees the name,' or, שְׂמִיאָה דָּרַר, 'he surveys the heavens.'

leader (Eth. En. 9 7) of two hundred angels who united themselves to women and whose wives brought forth giants (7 1. 2).

**Simapisiel** (Dillmann), **Simipesiel** (Charles), one of the evil arch-angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is evidently the same which appears above as *Samsapeel*. If this is the original form of it, it was a late Hebrew compound, *Shema'-pî-šē'-ēl*, 'hearken to the mouth of God.'<sup>17</sup>

**Tamiel** (i.e. תמאל, 'my perfect one is God'), one of the evil arch-angels (Eth. En. 6 7).

**Temel** (Dillmann), the evil angel who taught men astrology (Eth. En. 8 3). The name is a corruption of *Tamiel*. Charles so reads it.

**Tumael**, an evil archangel (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Tamiel*.

**Tarel**, an evil archangel (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Turel* (see below). Charles reads it *Turel*.

**Turel** (Dillmann), **Ṭuruel** (Charles), (i.e. Aram. ṭûr'-el, 'mount of God,' or, Heb. šûr-ēl, 'rock of God'), one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7, 69 2). Schwab, *op. cit.*, 264, regards it as תוראל, 'powerful beauty.' This is improbable. Charles regards it as a corruption of *Tamiel*.

**Ṭuryal**, according to Dillmann's text one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 69 2). Charles reads the name *Turel*, which makes it the same as the preceding, of which it was doubtless a corruption.

**Urakibameel**, according to Dillmann's text, one of the evil arch-angels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Arakibaramiel*. A comparison of 69 2 shows that here the names of two angels have been blended into one. The two angels were *Arakib* ('rider'?) and *Ramiel*.<sup>18</sup>

**Yatreel**, one of the evil angels (Eth. En. 69 2). The name is a corruption of *Sathar-el*, 'covering of God'; cf. *Sartael* of ch. 6 7.

**Yeqon**, an archangel of evil who led astray all children of angels (Eth. En. 69 4). One MS reads the name *Qoyen*, i.e. *Cain*. This probably points to the real origin of the name. The first murderer was made a demon.

**Yomyael**, one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). The name is a corruption of *Rumael*, which stands in the text of 69 2—itsself a corruption of *Rami'-el*, 'my high or compassionate one is God.' Charles takes it as יומאל, 'day of God.'

**Zaqebe**, according to Dillmann's text one of the evil archangels (Eth. En. 6 7). Charles reads *Zaqiel*. The name is a corruption of *Ezekiel*.

As Charles had pointed out (*Ethiopic Version of the Book*

<sup>17</sup> Schmidt, *ibid.*, takes this to be a corruption of שמשאל, 'God's sun.' Charles, as שמשאל, with the same meaning.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Charles, *Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 227. Also his *Book of Enoch*, 1912, p. 16.



of *Enoch*, 227 ff.), the lists of evil angels in the earliest Enoch apocalypse and the Parables (Eth. En. 6 7 69 2) go back to the same original. That original list the present writer would reconstruct as follows: Shemiaz, Arakab, Raḥamiel (or Ramiel), Kokabel, Tamiel, Daniel, Ezekiel, Baraqel, Asahel (afterward confused with Azazel), Ḥerem, Ḥananel, Shemapishael, Satharel, Turel, and Sahariel. Raḥamiel (or Ramiel) and Ezekiel were used twice over. This probably occurred through variations in the spelling which gave rise to doublets. Some of the others in our alphabetic list arose from other variant spellings of this original list.

## The Descent of Christ in the Odes of Solomon<sup>1</sup>

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IN a former paper in the JOURNAL (vol. xxx, part 2, 1911) I advanced certain evidence in favor of the hypothesis that the Odes of Solomon were written by Bardaisan of Edessa (A.D. 155–222), and in concluding stated that I regarded the results there attained as tentative only, the verification of which must be deferred until a more thorough examination of the Odes in the light afforded by astrological and Gnostic speculation shall have been completed. It is my aim in the present paper, first, to examine from these latter points of view the conception of Christ's descent from heaven as found in the Odes, taking the most important and interesting document, the twenty-third Ode, as my text, and, second, to consider, in the light of the astronomical data afforded by that Ode, certain dates for the Annunciation recognized in the early centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. F. C. Burkitt's article, "A New MS of the Odes of Solomon," *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, xiii (April, 1912), pp. 372–385, containing a collation of the printed text of the Odes with that of a tenth century MS discovered by him in the British Museum, came into my hands after this paper was written. The new MS contains from XVII, 7 to the end. I have noted its readings (N.) whenever they affect the sense of Harris's text (H.).—Mr. Burkitt remarks (p. 373) that my theory as to Bardaisan's authorship will not "commend itself to any one who is familiar with original Syriac literature. The Odes in Syriac are a creditable piece of work, but their language is a very different thing from the graceful and flexible tongue in which the Acts of Judas Thomas and the Dialogue on Fate are written. No theory of the origin of these Odes is satisfactory which regards the Syriac translation that we possess otherwise than as an exotic." As I had showed in my paper (p. 166) that, according to Epiphanius, Bardaisan wrote both in Syriac and in Greek (*Pan.*, Hær. 56: *λόγιός τις ὦν ἐν ταῖς δυοῖ γλώσσαις, Ἑλληνικῇ τε διαλέκτῳ καὶ τῇ τῶν Σύρων φωνῇ*), and had stated (p. 170, n. 22) that I was "inclined to believe the original was Greek," it would seem that Mr. Burkitt had not read my paper before commenting upon it.

But if one would understand many allusions in the Odes which are at first glance perplexing, one must bear in mind the conceptions of the world of spirit and of its relations to the world of matter which occupied the thoughts of the poet. Whether the Odes are to be classed as Gnostic or not depends upon the definition of "Gnostic," but it seems to me indisputable that they contain certain ideas which were current among the Gnostics and were not current, although perhaps occasionally to be found, in other forms of Christianity. I shall therefore preface my study of the text of the Odes with a sketch of some of these ideas in the form in which the Gnostics knew them. In drawing it my sole object has been to give a distinct and faithful picture of this peculiar mode of thinking the universe. The order of presentation which I have adopted is therefore not intended to follow either the chronological order in which the several elements may be supposed to have aggregated themselves into a system or the logical order in which an individual thinker may be supposed to have constructed or arranged his system. Nor have I endeavored to portray any individual system. While most of our information comes from Valentinian sources, the leading ideas, to which I have tried to confine myself, were held by the Valentinians in common with other schools of Gnostics.

One of the root-conceptions of Gnosticism is its theory of spirit. Spirit is mind, but it is also light. Subjectively, a spirit is known to himself as mind or consciousness; objectively, he is seen by other spirits as light. If he possess a form analogous to those of human beings, his substance seems to be light; if he does not, he may appear as a beam of light or even as diffused light. The brightness of the light corresponds to the rank or degree of perfection of the spirit. The lowest are murky and dull; the higher blaze with a splendor infinitely transcending that of the sun.

The world of spirit, therefore, is a world of light. Individual spirits live and move and have their being at any given stage of their development in a certain region of this world. Above and beyond the region in which the spirit



finds himself lie realms upon realms of light, ever more and more dazzlingly brilliant. Each realm is itself an Intelligence, and all somehow stream from and are centered in an incomprehensible, ineffable, infinite Source. Below lie regions ever diminishing in splendor, passing from the radiance of light to the dull glow of fire, and thence to twilight, gloom, and dense darkness.<sup>2</sup> The darkness is the world of matter. In this darkness of matter can be seen here and there sparks<sup>3</sup> of light. These are embodied spirits. The brighter among them are the spirits of men morally and mentally more highly developed than their fellows, while in the ignorant and the vicious the spark is so dim as to be all but invisible.

Such was the picture of the real universe which was more or less clearly sketched in the minds of most if not all of the Gnostic philosophers. And the task which they set themselves was to give a complete account of this spiritual world, of its topography, so to speak, of its inhabitants, their names, the order and manner of their procession from their Source and of their relation to the world of matter; to explain how and why the "sparks" became entangled in

<sup>2</sup> These ideas are fully set forth only in the Coptic works (*Pistis-Sophia*: Latin translation by M. G. Schwartz, Berlin, 1851; German by C. Schmidt, *Griech. Christl. Schriftsteller*, xiii, pt. 1, Leipzig, 1905; English by G. R. S. Meade [from the Latin]; *The Two Books of Jeu*, German translation by Schmidt, *op. cit.*; *An Unknown Old Gnostic Work*, German translation, *ibid.*). A similar scheme can be traced in many other systems. Clement of Alexandria's argument (*Exc. ex Theod.*, §§ 10-12), to prove that spiritual beings possess forms, is probably directed, as Heinrici (*D. val. Gnosis*, Berlin, 1871, p. 89) thinks, against certain Gnostic statements, nevertheless his conclusions, *e.g.* his distinctions between spirits of different grades as "intelligent fire," or "intelligent air," "intelligent light," and "unapproachable light," are good Gnostic doctrine. That spirits have, or may have, forms was held by many Gnostics.

<sup>3</sup> The conception seems to have been much the same in all the schools, but the terms varied. "Spark" occurs first in Saturnilus's system (*Iren. I*, 18, vol. i, 197, Harvey), and is very common; other terms are "seed" (*Exc. Theod.*, *passim*), "imprint," *χαράκτῆρ* (*Docetæ ap. Hipp. Ref. VIII*, 9-10, pp. 416-18, D. & S.), "moisture of the light," *ἰκμάς τοῦ φωτός* (*Ophites ap. Iren. I*, 28, 2, Vol. I, p. 228, H.), which is probably intended to represent the Aramaic *ṭallā*, "dew," *i.e.* the "sparks" in the underlying darkness are compared to drops of "dew," deposited by the light above.

darkness, and to set forth how they may be delivered and restored to the world of light. In accomplishing this task the Gnostics generally used freely the mythological, religious, scientific, and philosophical conceptions of their age. It is therefore not surprising that in many systems the astronomical and astrological conceptions then generally accepted play a leading part.

The world of matter extends as far as the circle of the moon. Next above lies the region of the seven planets, generally termed from them the Hebdomad, but also known by other names.

The region between the Hebdomad and the sky was called the Ogdoad.

The Hebdomad was subdivided into seven regions, each of which was ruled by the planet situated in it. It was also termed by some thinkers the "Mean" or "Midst,"<sup>4</sup> and conceived as consisting of fire,<sup>5</sup> which is the appropriate connecting link between light and darkness. The Hebdomad was also described as the "Right."

The sublunary region was known as the "Left," and was also probably conceived as subdivided into regions—in this case three, those of air, water, and earth, which represent the gradual shading off, so to speak, of light into darkness.<sup>6</sup>

Above the Ogdoad is the sky, which separates the world of light proper from the world below. In it is set the Cross (*σταυρός*), and both the Cross and the sky seem to be termed Horos (*ὅρος*), the Boundary Mark or Boundary. By the Cross should be understood, perhaps, the "St. Andrew's Cross," formed by the intersection of the ecliptic and the celestial equator. If, however, Valentinus, who seems first to have introduced this conception, really was an Egyptian<sup>7</sup> and had traveled as far south as Assouan, he may have had the Southern Cross in mind, which is there visible.

<sup>4</sup> See note 55.

<sup>5</sup> See note 55. Also Docetæ *ap.* Hipp. Ref., viii, 9, p. 418.

<sup>6</sup> Excerpta ex Theodoto (Stählin, *Gr. Chr. Schriftsteller*, vol. xii, pt. 3), § 28: τὸ "θεὸς ἀποδιδούς ἐπὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην γενεὰν τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι" φασὶν . . . οἱ . . . ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου τοὺς τρεῖς τόπους δηλοῦσθαι τοὺς ἀριστεροὺς κτλ.

<sup>7</sup> Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. d. Urchristenthums*, n. 479.

Above the Horos lie the realms of light. Each is a realm or region consisting of pure light, but each is also an intelligence. They were termed "Æons," and were conceived as the hypostatized thoughts of God. In most systems they were represented as emanated in pairs, male and female, each of which is the "consort" (σύζυγος) of the other, but there was no agreement among the several schools as to their number, order, or names. All taken together they were the "Pleroma," or "fullness," *i.e.* the "fullness of God" (Eph. 3 19).

I have said that light is mind, darkness is matter. But this sharp antithesis does poor justice to the subtleties of Gnostic philosophy. Strictly speaking, there is no matter. All that exists is mind in varying degrees of vividness. Absence of mind or total darkness is nothingness.<sup>8</sup> Hence each of the regions of which the universe consists is itself an intelligence, and the intelligence bears the same name as the place. The minor inhabitants proper to each place are usually conceived as emanations of the place precisely as the place itself is an emanation from a higher order of being. But besides the proper inhabitants, there are found in certain

<sup>8</sup> The problem was definitely put by the Valentinians. Ptolemy says in his letter to Flora [Epiph., Pan. Hær., 33, edited by Harnack in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, no. 9], v. 6: "For the substance of the Opposite (τοῦ ἀντικειμένου ἢ οὐσίας) is corruption and darkness, for it is material and multifarious (πολυσχεδής, πολυσχιδής *al.*). But the substance of the Father of all things, the Unbegotten, is incorruption and self-subsistent light (φῶς αὐτόον), simple and uniform (ἁπλοῦν τε καὶ μονοειδές). But the substance of this [intermediate being, the Mean (μεσότης) or Creator] has produced a kind of twofold power [lacuna], yet he is himself the likeness of the Superior (τοῦ κρείττονος εἰκόν). Let not this [fact] unsettle your determination to learn (σὲ θορυβέλω θέλουσαν μαθεῖν) how from one Source of all things, which is and is confessed and believed by us to be One, the Unbegotten and Incorruptible and Good, these natures, that of corruption and that of the Mean, were constituted, seeing that they are of unlike substance, and that it is the nature of the good to beget and produce things like and of like substance with itself. For you shall learn, God willing, in due order both the source and the generation of this [evil principle], if you are found worthy of the apostolic tradition which we also have received by succession [and] with [it the ability] to test all doctrines by the teaching of our Saviour." But it may well be that the earlier forms of Gnosticism were dualistic, as Bousset holds (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, ch. iii).



places temporary inhabitants who will ultimately reach higher or lower orders of being.

The Pleroma is the proper place of the Æons. The Ogdoad is the place of Sophia, known also by many other names, who in the Valentinian and some other systems is a fallen Æon destined to return ultimately to the Pleroma. With her are the spiritual Christ and the purified spirits of men—so certain Valentinians. The seven regions of the Hebdomad are inhabited by the seven planetary spirits according to nearly all systems. The midmost of the seven is "Paradise," say the Valentinians, where the souls of the just which have not yet been wholly purified are temporarily detained, and here also, according to Theodotus, the "psychic Jesus" sits beside the "Place," the Ruler of the Hebdomad. Other systems people the Ogdoad and Hebdomad with an innumerable multitude of beings, many of which represent and bear the names of the constellations, decans, "places," signs, and other elements of astrology.

The regions below the moon are occupied by beings innumerable in multitude and low of grade. Among them are men and animals, demons of all sorts, and the Great Serpent or Devil, the representative of Darkness and Evil. We possess few details (save in Pistis-Sophia and the kindred works), and such scattered allusions as we do possess are not always intelligible.

The origination of this universe was described in nearly all Gnostic systems as due to emanation of the lower by the higher, and many of the leading ideas recur repeatedly in different systems, although the differences in detail are numerous and important. Into these questions, however, I need not now enter, as they are not directly related to the interpretation of the Odes which I wish to study.

The text of Ode XXIII runs as follows :

- (1) Joy is of the saints,  
and who shall put it on  
if not they alone ?
- (2) Grace is of the elect,

- and who shall take it  
if not they that have trusted in it from the beginning?
- (3) Love is of the elect,  
and who shall put it on  
if not they that possessed it from the beginning?
- (4) Walk ye in the freely given knowledge of the Most  
High,<sup>9</sup>  
for his delight<sup>10</sup> and for the perfection of his  
knowledge.
- (5) His Thought was like a Letter,  
his Will came down from the Most High;<sup>11</sup>  
It was sent like an arrow from a bow,  
which flies forcibly.
- (6) There hurried towards the Letter many hands,  
to intercept it and to take it and to read it;
- (7) But it slipped through their<sup>12</sup> fingers,  
and they were afraid of it,  
and of the Seal that was upon it.
- (8) For it was not permitted them to break its<sup>13</sup> Seal;  
for the power that was upon the Seal was stronger  
than they.
- (9) So they went after the Letter —  
they that saw it —  
That they might know where it would lodge  
and who would read it and who would hear it.
- (10) A Wheel then received it  
and it alighted thereupon,<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> N. adds, "and ye shall know the grace of the Lord, for," etc.

<sup>10</sup> "his" should probably be taken in both cases in the objective sense — the Christian's aim is delight in God and the perfecting of his knowledge of God.

<sup>11</sup> So H.; N., and Harris's translation, "from on high." The difference is unimportant, for in the Gnostic idealism the place and its occupant are identical. See nn. 55, 56.

<sup>12</sup> The suffix and two verbs which follow are masc., showing that the metaphor, "hands" (fem.), is no longer clearly in mind.

<sup>13</sup> H., "his seal."

<sup>14</sup> Literally, "came upon it." Since both "letter" and "wheel" are fem., the proper reference of the verbs and pronouns of vv. 10-16 is often uncertain.

- (11) And there was a sign with it [*i.e.* the Letter]  
of a Kingdom and of a Rule.
- (12) And everything that moved the Wheel  
it [the Letter] mowed and cut down.
- (13) And the multitude it held in check  
who were opponents,  
And covered rivers and crossed over  
and rooted up many forests<sup>15</sup>  
and made a broad Way.
- (14) The Head came down to the Feet  
because to the feet the Wheel had run.<sup>16</sup>
- (15) And that which had alighted<sup>17</sup> upon it  
was a Letter of command<sup>18</sup>  
that all the Places should assemble.<sup>19</sup>
- (16) And there was seen at its [the Wheel's] head<sup>20</sup>  
the Head that was revealed,  
the Son<sup>21</sup> of Truth from the Father Most High.
- (17) And he inherited and took possession of everything,  
and the thought of the Many was annihilated;
- (18) All the apostates raged and fled,  
the persecutors were quenched and became extinct.<sup>22</sup>
- (19) The Letter was a great tablet  
written wholly by the finger of God,
- (20) And the Name of the Father was upon it  
and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,  
to reign for ever and ever,  
Hallelujah.

The four opening verses are not intimately connected with the remainder of the poem ; they are rather of the nature of

<sup>15</sup> N., "peoples."

<sup>16</sup> N., "feet"; H., "foot." Syr., "ran." But the English preterite might signify a continued or habitual action, whereas the Syriac signifies a single completed act.

<sup>17</sup> So also N.; H., "and that which was a sign upon it."

<sup>18</sup> N., "and a command."

<sup>19</sup> Read *impf.* for *pf.*

<sup>20</sup> So also N.

<sup>21</sup> With Labourt, omit the "and."

<sup>22</sup> So N.; H., "were enraged."



a prelude, designed to touch the feelings and awaken the devotional spirit. The ideas which they express, that love, joy, grace belong to "the saints," "the elect," only, that they "take" them and "put them on," and the emphasis laid on knowledge, are familiar Gnostic ideas, but are by no means restricted to Gnostic circles.

Verses 5-16 describe the descent of Christ from the highest realms of the spiritual world to the world of matter, symbolized as a "letter" sent like an arrow from a bow. The letter embraces two elements, God's Thought and His Will.

The same conception is ascribed by Irenæus and Hippolytus<sup>23</sup> to Ptolemy, the Valentinian. Bythos had two consorts (also termed "modifications" or "conditions"), Thought and Will. "For first," say they, "he *thought* to emanate something, then he *willed*. Wherefore also these two conditions or powers, Thought and Will, having been mingled, as it were, one with one another, the emanation of the Only-begotten and of Truth was due to connection, which [two] came forth, visibles from the invisibles, as certain copies and images of the two conditions of the Father, Intellect, of Will and Truth, of Thought. The male image is that of the later-begotten Will, the female of the unbegotten Thought, because the Will proved to be the power, so to speak, of the Thought. For Thought thought eternally the emana-

<sup>23</sup> Iren. Hær., i, 6 ; Hipp. Ref., vi, 38, p. 294 D. & S. ; Epiph., Hær. 33, 1. Greek from Hipp. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον δύο σύζυγους αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγουσιν, ἅς καὶ διαθέσεις καλοῦσιν, ἔννοιαν καὶ θέλησιν· πρῶτον γὰρ ἐνενοήθη τι προβαλεῖν, ὥς φασιν, ἔπειτα ἠθέλησε. Διὰ καὶ τῶν δύο τούτων διαθέσεων καὶ δυνάμεων, τῆς τε ἐννοίας καὶ τῆς θελήσεως, ὥσπερ συγκραθεισῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας ἡ προβολὴ τοῦ τε μονογενοῦς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κατὰ συζυγίαν ἐγένετο, οὓς τινες τύπους καὶ εἰκόνας τῶν δύο διαθέσεων τοῦ πατρὸς διελθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτων ὁρατάς, τοῦ μὲν θελήματος τὸν νοῦν, τῆς δὲ ἐννοίας τὴν ἀλήθειαν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπιγεννητοῦ θελήματος ὁ ἄρρην εἰκῶν, τῆς δὲ ἀγεννητοῦ ἐννοίας ὁ θήλυς, ἐπεὶ τὸ θέλημα ὥσπερ δύναμις ἐγένετο τῆς ἐννοίας. Ἐνενοεῖτο μὲν γὰρ αἰὲν ἡ ἔννοια τὴν προβολήν, οὐ μέντοι γε προβάλλειν αὐτὴ κατ' αὐτὴν ἡ δύναμις, ἀλλὰ ἐνενοεῖτο, ὅτε δὲ ἡ τοῦ θελήματος δύναμις (ἐπεγένετο), τότε (δ) ἐνενοεῖτο προβάλλει. — Συζυγία, which I have rendered "connection," would perhaps be better represented by "marriage." At all events, σύζυγος was at this time the ordinary popular word for "husband" or "wife."

tion, but was not able herself to emanate of herself what she thought. When, however, the power of Will supervened, she emanated what she thought."

Clement of Alexandria's "Excerpts from the Writings of Theodotus and of the So-called Eastern Doctrines" have preserved an account of a similar theory and add some important details.<sup>24</sup>

"The Father, then, being unknown, willed to become known to the æons, and through reflection upon himself, as though become cognizant of himself, emanated a spirit of knowledge-subsisting-in-knowledge — the Only-begotten. So he also that came forth from knowledge, that is from the Father's reflection, proved to be knowledge, *i.e.* the Son, because 'through the Son the Father is made known.' The spirit of love is mingled with that of knowledge, as the Father with the Son and reflection with truth, when it comes forth from truth [read "from will"], as knowledge from reflection. And 'the Only-begotten Son abiding in the bosom of the Father' interprets the reflection through knowledge to the æons, as though indeed emanated from beneath his bosom, but when he appears here he is termed by the Apostle not 'Only-begotten,' but, 'as the Only-begotten,' 'the glory as of the Only-begotten,' because, although he is one and the same, Jesus is the First-born in the Creation but Only-begotten in the Pleroma, and he is the same, although he is to every Place such as it is capable of receiving."

<sup>24</sup> Exc. ex Theod., (Stählin) § 7. "Αγνωστος οὖν ὁ πατήρ ὡν ἡθέλησεν γνωσθῆναι τοῖς αἰῶσι, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκώς, πνεῦμα γνώσεως οὔσης ἐν γνώσει προέβαλε τὸν Μονογενῆ. γέγονεν οὖν καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ γνώσεως, τουτέστι τῆς πατρικῆς ἐνθυμήσεως, προελθὼν γνῶσις, τουτέστιν ὁ υἱός, ὅτι "δὲ υἱοῦ ὁ πατήρ ἐγνωσθη" [cf. Mt. 11 27, L. 10 22]. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης πνεῦμα κέκραται τῷ τῆς γνώσεως, ὡς πατήρ υἱῷ καὶ ἐνθύμησις ἀληθείᾳ, ἀπ' ἀληθείας [l. ἀπὸ θελήματος] προελθὼν ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνθυμήσεως ἢ γνῶσις. καὶ ὁ μὲν μέινας "μονογενὴς υἱὸς εἰς τὸ κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς" [cf. J. 1 18] τὴν ἐνθύμησιν διὰ τῆς γνώσεως ἐξηγεῖται τοῖς αἰῶσιν, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτοῦ προβληθείς, ὁ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὀφείλεις οὐκέτι "μονογενὴς" ἀλλ' "ὡς μονογενὴς" πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου προσαγορεύεται, "δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς" [cf. J. 1 14], ὅτι εἰς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡν ἐν μὲν τῇ κτίσει πρωτότοκος ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς, ἐν δὲ πληρώματι μονογενὴς· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος ὡν ἐκάστῳ τόπῳ οἷος κεχωρήσθαι δύναται.

Hippolytus,<sup>25</sup> in his account of the Valentinians, has preserved a fragment which seems to belong to the same sphere of ideas :

"[The Father] was not fond of solitude. For, he says, he is wholly love, and love is not love unless the Beloved exist."

The first two accounts are obviously derived from a common source and supplement each the other. The Father thinks himself and wills to reveal his thought. Will involves both intention and motive ; his intention is to reveal himself, his motive is love. As long as the intention remains "in the bosom of the Father," it is his Only-begotten Son to whom alone the Father is adequately known ; when revealed it is "as the Only-begotten Son," for none of the lower "Places," the several regions or orders of spiritual being, can know God adequately—each receives of the revelation according to its capacity of comprehension. When the Father wills the revelation, there proceed from his bosom two "streams of air" (*πνεύματα*) or "spirits," one of knowledge (*γνώσις*) from Thought, and one of love (*ἀγάπη*) from Will.<sup>26</sup> These "streams of air" are no doubt conceived by the writer, as by the Stoics, as at once spiritual and semi-material substances, or at least as spiritual substances which behave like the most tenuous material substances known to the ancients, air and flame.<sup>27</sup> Hence, upon issuing from

<sup>25</sup> Ref. vi, 29, p. 272 : . . . φιλέρημος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν. 'Αγάπη γὰρ, φησίν, ἦν ὁλος, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγάπη, ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ τὸ ἀγαπώμενον. The term "Beloved" as a title of Christ, which occurs only once in the NT [Eph. 1 ε], had a peculiar significance to the Valentinians, and occurs in a quotation from Valentinus given by Clem. Alex. [Strom. 6, 52, ap. Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. d. Urchristenthums*, p. 301] οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λαὸς ὁ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου ὁ φιλοῦμενος καὶ φιλῶν αὐτόν. It occurs also twice in the Odes as a title of Christ, III, 5, "I love the Beloved" ; VII, 1, "As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over the Beloved."

<sup>26</sup> The text has "from Truth." But this is obviously impossible. Truth, as the feminine element in the first pair of æons, has not yet been emanated, and the emanation from Truth is not Love but Life (*ζωή*).

<sup>27</sup> Πνεῦμα as a technical term was first elaborated, if not first formulated, by the Stoics, but had become familiar to all educated persons long before the Christian era. Good illustrations from a Christian writer are supplied by the "Shepherd of Hermas," *Mand.*, v, 1 (the Holy Spirit is "darkened,"



the Father's bosom the two streams "blend" into a unity in which the two elements still subsist in new forms, thus constituting the first pair of æons, Truth, corresponding, as is appropriate, to Thought, and Intellect (*νοῦς*) to Will, "because Will is the power of Thought."

In Ode XXIII, then, two elements, Thought and Will, are supposed to enter into the composition, so to speak, of Christ. This throws light upon the symbolical picture of Ode XIX (see my former paper), in which two streams of "milk" are represented as proceeding from the "two breasts of the Father," and as being blended by the Holy Spirit in her bosom. The function ascribed to the Holy Spirit is novel, but in other respects, the emanation of the two streams and their blending, the theory is identical with the Gnostic doctrine above described.

The conception of "Will as the Power of Thought" here symbolized as the bow which dispatches the arrow, recurs also both in the Odes and in the Acts of Judas Thomas.

#### Ode VIII:

- (18) I took pleasure in them  
and am not ashamed of them,
- (19) For my work are they  
and the power of my thoughts. . . .
- (21) I willed and fashioned mind and heart;  
mine they are, and at my right I have placed mine  
elect.

"choked," "crowded out" of a man's heart by angry temper), *Mand.*, x, 3 (sadness mingling with the intercession prevents its ascending to the altar). Such conceptions are common among the Gnostics; see, for example, *Exc. ex Theod.*, § 17, where Clement argues that the union of the divine with the human spirit is not, as the Gnostics held, a case of "blending," or, as we would say nowadays, of "chemical combination" (the term first defined in this sense by Aristotle, *de gen. et corr.*, i, 11; *de sensu*, 3, 440 a 31), but of "juxtaposition" (. . . πνεῦμα γοῦν πνεύματι μίγνυται. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ κατὰ παράθεσιν τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ κρᾶσιν). Similar conceptions occur in the Odes (*e.g.* III, 8, "I have been blended," in order to be found loving, with the Beloved"; iv, 9, "Thou hast given us thy communion," *i.e.* "a share of or in thyself") and in the *Acts of Judas Thomas* (*e.g.* vol. ii, Wright, p. 274), "Thou art seen to be his servant by . . . the communion of this God whom I preach" (same Syriac word). But this subject calls for a detailed study.

So in the "Acts" (II, 208, Wright) of Christ "He who was Thy Will, the Power of thy Thought," and, as in Ode VIII, of men (p. 165) "Thou whose mercy is upon men whom Thou hast willed and made."

The simile of the flying letter also occurs in the "Song of the Pearl" which is incorporated into these Acts.

Verses 6-9. As Christ descends, he passes through the various regions of the spiritual universe. The inhabitants of those regions see him and try to intercept and read the letter, *i.e.* try to comprehend him and his mission, but cannot do it. The "seal upon the letter," which was (v. 20) the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, they can perceive, but it frightens them away.

Virtually all of these ideas recur repeatedly in the various Gnostic systems, but the nature of the impression which Christ makes upon the denizens of the various regions is not always conceived in the same way. The oldest theory, that Christ's person and mission were concealed from the powers of this world, is suggested even by St. Paul, 1 Cor. 2 8, [the wisdom of God], "which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory," and is found in Ignatius (Eph. 19; see p. 193). The "seals" which Christ bears are mentioned in the ancient "Naasene" or "Ophite" hymn quoted by Hippolytus,<sup>28</sup> and are apparently supposed to protect Jesus and to enable him to pass through the æons:

<sup>28</sup> Ref., vi, 10, p. 176; trans. G. R. S. Mead, *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, London, 1906, p. 205, but modified by W. R. N.:

εἶπεν δ' Ἰησοῦς ἑσὲρ [l. ἰδοὺ] πάτερ  
 ζήτημα κακῶν ἐπὶ χθόνα  
 ἀπὸ σῆς πνοῆς ἐπιπλάσσεται.  
 Ζητεῖ δὲ φυγεῖν τὸ πικρὸν χάος,  
 καὶ οὐκ οἶδε πῶς διελεύσεται.  
 Τοῦτου με χάριν πέμψον, πάτερ.  
 σφραγίδας ἔχων καταβήσομαι.  
 αἰῶνας ὅλους διοδεύσω,  
 μυστήρια πάντα διανοίξω,  
 μορφὰς δὲ θεῶν ἐπιδείξω.  
 καὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῆς ἁγίας ὁδοῦ  
 γυνώσιν καλέσας, παραδώσω.

Jesus said: Father!  
 A searching of evils on the earth  
 [Inspired] of thy breath is straying!  
 It seeks to shun the bitter Chaos,  
 But knows not how to escape.  
 Wherefore, send me, O Father!  
 Possessed of seals, I will descend,  
 Through all the æons I will make my way;  
 All mysteries I will open,  
 The shapes of the gods I will show,  
 And the secrets of the Holy Way,  
 Calling [them] Gnosis (knowledge) I will hand over.

The notion that the descending God disguised himself during his descent is first ascribed to Simon Magus, who claims that he himself thus came down from heaven: "in every heaven I changed my shape to correspond to the shape of those in each heaven that I might not be perceived by my angelic powers."<sup>29</sup> In the "Ophite" system of Irenæus Christ has recourse to the same device, but he employs it to despoil the inferior spirits of their spiritual substance.<sup>30</sup> But in the later (?) form of Basilides' system given by Hippolytus (Ref., vii, 25-26) a very different theory is taught. Not the "Sonship" but "the Gospel came into the world and traversed every dominion and power and lordship and every name that is named, and it came in reality although nothing descended from above nor did the blessed Sonship depart from that unthinkable and blessed nonexistent God."<sup>31</sup> Just as a flame kindles "Indian naphtha" from afar, so the Sonship kindled and enlightened the mind of the Son of the Great Archon of the Ogdoad and through him the Great

<sup>29</sup> Epiph., Pan., i, 2, 2; Hær. 21: ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ οὐρανῷ μετεμορφούμενην φησὶ, κατὰ τὴν μορφήν τῶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ οὐρανῷ, ἵνα λάθῃ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς μου δυνάμεις.

<sup>30</sup> Iren. Hær., i, 28, Harvey, vol. i, p. 238: Descendisse autem eum per septem coelos, assimilatum filiis eorum dicunt, et sensim eorum evacuasse virtutem.

<sup>31</sup> p. 370: . . . ἦλθε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ διήλθε διὰ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου· ἦλθε δὲ ὄντως, καίπερ οὐδὲν κατήλθεν ἀνωθεν, οὐδὲ ἐξέστη ἡ μακαρία νιότης ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀπερινοήτου καὶ μακαρίου οὐκ ὄντος θεοῦ.



Archon himself and the whole Ogdoad. In like manner the Ogdoad transmits the Gospel to the Hebdomad, the Hebdomad to Jesus, son of Mary, and he to us.

The Valentinian theory of the Excerpts occupies a position between these extremes. Christ descended, although not in such manner as to be separated from his Father, and encountered the lower spiritual beings, but he did not disguise himself. They did not know him simply because they were unable to comprehend him. Each "Place" apprehended him according to the measure of its capacity and so each apprehended him differently.<sup>32</sup> The doctrine of the Docetæ recorded by Hippolytus (Ref., viii, 10, p. 422) employs the same conception to explain the existence of sects among Christians.

The conception of the Ode seems most nearly akin to the Valentinian doctrine. The intermediate beings are aware of Christ's presence among them, they desire to know more, they recognize the "seal," and it fills them with such fear that they make no further effort to penetrate into the mystery which it protects. So in the Excerpts,<sup>33</sup> "the powers of the Right knew the names of Jesus and of Christ even before his appearance, but they did not know the meaning of the sign."

It is from the point of view of this Valentinian doctrine that I would interpret the 13th Ode:

Behold the Lord is our mirror!

Open ye your eyes and behold them in him,  
and learn the manner of your faces

<sup>32</sup> So Ephr. Syr. Hymn de Nat., iii (Opp. Vat. Ed., vol. ii, p. 413 B; trans. J. B. Morris, *Select Works of S. Ephrem*, etc., Oxf., 1847, p. 24): "The Angels as Angels saw Him; according to the measure of his knowledge each man beheld him; according to the measure of each man's discernment, thus he perceived Him that is greater than all. The Father and Himself alone are a full measure of knowledge to know Him as He is! For every creature whether above or below obtaineth each his measure of knowledge," etc.

<sup>33</sup> § 43, *Λέγουσιν οὖν ὅτι αἱ δεξιαὶ ᾗδεσαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ σημείου οὐκ ᾗδεσαν τὴν δύναμιν*. In § 23 a knowledge that Christ was born of the Holy Spirit and a virgin is ascribed to the "angels of the Right."

and tell forth praises to his Spirit;  
 Wipe off the filth from your faces  
 and love his holiness and put it on,  
 and ye shall be spotless always before him.  
 Hallelujah.

The Lord is our mirror because each of us sees himself in him — because our ability to perceive him is determined by the degree of our spiritual development.

The same idea occurs in the strongly Gnostic fragment of the Acts of John discovered and published by Prof. M. R. James.<sup>34</sup> Jesus says :

“ I am a mirror to thee that perceivest me.”<sup>35</sup>

That the meaning of the simile is the same as the Valentinian is implied in what seems to me the most probable interpretation of a corrupt passage in the same fragment:

“ What thou art thou seest — this I have shown thee; what I am, this I alone know, no one else. Mine, suffer thou me to keep; thine, see thou through me. But really to see *me* is, I have said, not given, but [only] what thou canst know because akin [thereto].”<sup>36</sup>

Verses 10–16 of Ode XXIII describe Christ's arrival in the great Wheel of the Zodiac (ζωδιακὸς κύκλος), his assumption of dominion over the powers that have hitherto controlled it, the homage they render him, and his first appearance to human eyes, as the Star of Bethlehem. Paragraphs 69–75 of the Excerpts supply so good a commentary upon these verses that I translate them in full.

§ 69. Destiny (εἰμαρμένη) is a combination (σύνοδος) of many opposed powers. They are not seen, nor are they manifest, yet they control the course of the stars and govern through them.

<sup>34</sup> Texts and Studies, v. 1, 1897.

<sup>35</sup> Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocrypha*, Pt. ii, 1, 1898, p. 198, 12, “Ἐσοπτρόν εἰμι σοι τῷ νοοῦντί με.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, § 101, p. 201, 15 : δ γὰρ εἰ [l. εἰ Hilgenfeld] σὺν ὁρᾷς τοῦτο ἐγὼ σοι ἔδειξα · δ δὲ εἰμι τοῦτο ἐγὼ μόνος οἶδα, ἄλλος οὐδεὶς. τὸ οὖν ἐμὸν εἶαί με [l. εἶα με James] ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ σὺν δι' ἐμοῦ ὁρᾶν [l. ὅρα James], ἐμὲ δὲ ὄντως ὁρᾶν, οὐ [l. οὐκ] ἔφην ὑπάρχειν ἄλλ' δ σὺν δέ νυ [l. δύνη James] γνωρίζειν συγγενῆς ὦν. For other interpretations, see Bonnet, *App. Crit.* and Hennecke, *NT Apokryphen, Handbuch*, p. 534.

For each of them by virtue of its precedence [over others], as it rises with the motion of the Universe, gets the control over the [creatures] born under the influence of that very force<sup>37</sup> (*κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥοπὴν*) because they are in a sense its children.

§ 70. Through the fixed stars and the planets the invisible powers which ride upon them manage and supervise births, but the stars themselves do nothing, they only display the operation of the ruling powers,<sup>38</sup> precisely as the flight of birds has a meaning, but effects nothing.

§ 71. So the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the seven stars which traverse them, sometimes moving in the same direction, sometimes in the opposite, when rising . . . they, being moved by the powers, display the motion of the real substance in its operation upon the birth of living beings and the modification of circumstances. But both the stars and the powers are diverse — beneficent, maleficent, right, left —<sup>39</sup> to all which in common the [creature] born belongs, and every [event] takes place through their influence at the proper time, for the [star then] ruling produces its appropriate effects, one at the beginning [of life], another at [its] end.

§ 72. From this rivalry and conflict of the powers the Lord delivers us and gives us peace [and release] from the array of the powers and of the angels, of whom some are arrayed on our side and others against us. For some are like soldiers fighting for us, as one would expect of God's ministers, but some are like bandits, for the Evil One was not girded with his sword by the King, but snatched it in rebellion for himself.

Because of our opponents, therefore, who through the body and our surroundings get aboard the soul and bond it into slavery, those of the Right are not able to keep pace with them so as to keep us safe and protect us. For they are not perfectly careful, like the Good Shepherd, but each is like the hireling who sees the wolf coming and flees, and is not eager to give his life for his own sheep. Moreover, man, on whose behalf is the conflict, is a feeble creature, easily influenced for the worse, and coöperates with them that hate him, whereby his evils are multiplied.

<sup>37</sup> The force of the celestial "wheel" which it communicates to the dominant star, and which the star transmits to earth.

<sup>38</sup> The "force" exerted by the stars is not to be conceived as operating mechanically, as, *e.g.* by Ptolemy, but as the "motion of the real substance" (§ 71), *i.e.* spiritual light and substance, of which the heaven and the stars are the sensible expression.

<sup>39</sup> The beneficent are "those on the right," as in the Book of the Laws (see my former paper, pp. 180, 190, 204), and, seemingly, in Ode XIX.



§ 74. For this reason the Lord came down to make peace, the peace of heaven, for those on earth — as the Apostle says, “Peace on earth and glory in the highest.” Therefore there arose a foreign Star and a new, destroying the ancient star-rule, shining with a new light not that of the firmament, taking new and saving paths — the Lord himself, Pathfinder (ὁδηγός) of men, descending upon earth in order to transfer those that believed in the Christ from Destiny to his Providence.

§ 75. That there is a Destiny for others, say they, the effects foretold prove, and the science of astrology (ἡ τῶν μαθημάτων θεωρία) also is an obvious proof. Hence the Magi not only saw the Star of the Lord, but also perceived the truth, that a King had been born, and King of whom, namely of the pious. At that time Jews alone were famed (διαβόητοι) for piety. For this reason, therefore, the Saviour, when coming down to the pious, came first to those who at that time had won a name (δόξαν ἀποφερομένους) for their piety.

(§§ 76, 77 teach that baptism delivers us from the power of the evil spirits.)

§ 78. Until Baptism, then, Destiny is, they say, true, but after it the astrologers no longer speak the truth.

§ 25. The Apostles, they say, were translated to the twelve signs of the zodiac. For as birth is regulated by the latter, so is the new birth under the supervision of the Apostles.

The writer of the Odes does not tell us what he imagined that “sign of a Kingdom and of a Rule” to be which Christ bore with him and which enabled him to overcome all obstacles in his descent to earth, nor is it possible, in view of the inexhaustible fertility of Gnostic fancy, to do more than conjecture how he pictured it. Since Christ was a being from the higher light-regions, the poet probably conceived his descent as like that of a brilliant meteor plunging into the abyss of darkness below, and it may well be that the sign was nothing other than the dazzling brilliancy of his light. So in the account of Christ’s ascent given in Pistis-Sophia, c. 11 sqq., emphasis is always laid upon the dazzling light of his mystery-garment<sup>40</sup> and upon the fear and awe which it inspires in the inhabitants of the various regions through

<sup>40</sup> See also Harris’s discussion of the “coats of skin,” pp. 66 sqq., of his first edition of the Odes. Compare n. 63a.

which he passes. But his garment bears also the mystery-names of the innumerable beings whom he is to encounter, and these names cast a spell upon their possessors. Whether the poet had any such thought in mind it is not possible to say with certainty, but since the "Seal" which frightens away the spirits is the name of the Trinity, the Sign, which seems to be distinguished from the Seal, may be something like the garment of light of Pistis-Sophia.

The things "which move the Wheel" are "the invisible powers which ride upon" the fixed stars and planets (Exc. Theod., § 70); the "opponents" are the "powers that are arrayed against us" (*ibid.*, § 72), the "rivers and forests" are poetic similes for the antagonistic powers which Christ encounters and overcomes. The "forests" I have not met with elsewhere, but the "rivers," especially of fire, abysses, "waters of fire," occur elsewhere with reference to the regions below the moon, and probably with reference to the Hebdomad also.<sup>41</sup> Thus in descending Christ brushed aside all obstacles and "made a broad Way"; this is the Way by which we also are to travel from the regions of darkness to the realms of light. As a meteor leaves a train of light behind it in its flight, so Christ has left the "footprints of his light" behind him, thus "blazing" the path from earth to heaven for us. This is, I am convinced, the meaning of those perplexing verses of Ode VII:

- (12)           Therefore he (God) had mercy on me in his great  
                    mercy,  
                    and granted me that I should ask of him  
(13)           and should receive of his Sacrifice;<sup>42</sup>  
                    Because he [= the Sacrifice, *i.e.* Christ] is incorrupti-  
                    ble, the Perfection [= Pleroma?] of the Worlds  
                    [= Æons?] and their Father.

<sup>41</sup> Acta Philippi, AAA, ii, 2, p. 86, 2; Acta Joannis, *ibid.*, ii, 1 p. 214, 4; Exc. Theod., § 38: "Gedicht des Jacob von Sarug üb. d. Palast," etc. ZDMG, i, 1871, v. 470. See p. 188 sqq.

<sup>42</sup> Nestle's suggestion, that the Syriac translator has mistaken *οἰστας* for *θυστας*, is not needed to make the passage intelligible. The Syriac word here used can denote the victim, *e.g.* Rom. 12 1, where the Peshitta uses it to

- (14) He (God) hath granted to him that he should be  
seen of them that are his,  
(15) that they might confess him that made them,  
and might not think they were of themselves.
- (16) Knowledge [= gnosis (?)] did he make his Way,  
he made it broad, and he made it long,<sup>43</sup>  
and brought it to all perfection [= the whole  
Pleroma ?]
- (17) And he put upon it the marks [lit. "footprints"] of  
his light,  
and it went from the Beginning even to the End.
- (18) For the work was his (God's) doing,  
and he was well pleased with the Son,  
And because of his salvation,<sup>44</sup>  
he (the Son) shall have power over all things.

With the conception here suggested of the way between heaven and earth as a path of light, one may compare another picture from the Gnostic Acts.

translate *θυσίαν* in *παραστήσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν*. The conception of partaking of Christ's sacrifice in a literal, but also spiritual, sense is characteristic of Gnostic soteriology. A kindred, but different, conception occurs Ode XX, 1:

I am a priest of the Lord,  
he it is whom I serve as priest,  
to him I offer the offering of his Thought (cf. Rom. 20 1,  
*τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν*).

With the doctrine that Christ is the Father of the æons or worlds compare Mart. Matt., AAA, ii, 1, p. 220, 2, [Jesus, in the form of a child speaks to Matthew of Herod who wished] "to kill the child Jesus, who is older than the æons, but of all these æons I am the Father"; and with this compare Ode XXVIII, 15, "I was older than their memory;" Herm. Past. S., ix, 2, *ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερός ἐστιν ὥστε σύμβολον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῶν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πάλαιός ἐστιν, κτλ*; Acta Joannis, AAA, II, 1, 212, 1, *Ἰησοῦ, ὁ τῶν ὑπερουρανίων πατήρ κτλ*.

<sup>43</sup> So R. H. Connolly, "The Odes of Solomon: Jewish or Christian," *Jour. Theol. Studies*, January, 1912, 298-309.

<sup>44</sup> *I.e.* as a reward for the salvation which he wrought for man. The peculiar Christology of the Odes demands special study; it will suffice for the present to refer to XXXI, 4-5. The text can, however, be translated, "And for the sake of its salvation," *i.e.* that of the universe.



Acts of Philip, ch. 138 (AAA, ii, 2, p. 70). [At Philip's request the earth has opened and swallowed up a vast multitude of men, women, and children; Christ appears and rebukes him; he asks that they be brought up again] "and the Saviour turned and stretched out his hand and drew in the air a cross descending from above into the abyss, and the abyss was filled with light (*al. lect.*, and the cross was full of light), and the cross was like a ladder with steps, and the Saviour cried to those in the abyss and said, 'Come up all by the cross, because the Apostle Philip also has now taken pity on you through me that ye should again see the light of God.' And behold, the whole multitude of those that had gone down into the abyss went up (*al. lect.*, went up on the ladder of the cross of light)," etc.

It is probable that Ode XXXIX deals with the same theme as Ode XXIII. But the imagery is here taken for the most part from the Gospel story of Christ's walking on the water and the significance of the picture is not so clearly indicated as in the illustrations just given:

- (1) Mighty rivers are the powers<sup>45</sup> of the Lord:
- (2) Those that despise him  
they sweep headlong:  
they confuse their paths,<sup>46</sup>
- (3) and wash away their fords,  
and carry away their bodies,  
and destroy their lives,
- (4) for they are swifter than lightning and quicker.  
They that cross them in faith shall not be moved,
- (5) and they that walk on them without stain shall not  
fear,  
Because the Sign upon them is the Lord,

<sup>45</sup> Read emph. pl. without pron. suff., and take it as subject. If "rivers" be taken as subject the following statements are singularly inappropriate. Why are flooded rivers "the power of the Lord"? Why "swifter than lightning"? How did the Lord "bridge them by his Word" (*i.e.* Logos)? The reading that I suggest removes all difficulties. These "powers" are the spiritual beings whose function it is to intercept the unredeemed souls and carry them away to punishment (see p. 186 and note 41).

<sup>46</sup> Pl. points; so N.

- (6) and the Sign is the Way  
of them that cross in the Name of the Lord.
- (7) Put on then the Name of the Highest and know him,  
and ye shall cross without danger,  
while the rivers obey you.<sup>46a</sup>
- (8) The Lord bridged them by his Word,  
and walked and crossed them afoot;
- (9) His footprints remain on the waters  
and have not been destroyed,  
but are like the Wood <sup>46b</sup> established in truth.
- (10) On this side and that the billows arose,  
and the footprints of our Lord Christ remain,  
and are not erased nor destroyed;  
They were made<sup>47</sup> a Way for them that cross after  
him,  
That follow the Way of Faith<sup>48</sup>  
and worship his Name.

Ode XXXVIII is probably, as Harris has suggested (*Expositor*, July and November, 1911), an elaboration of a text supplied by Ps. 43, "Oh, send forth thy light and thy truth; let them lead me, let them bring me to thy holy hill." The imagery by means of which the theme is developed is suggested by the conception of the Way of Truth as a path of light leading from earth to heaven, but the poet is thinking rather of the approach to that Way, the Christian's life on earth, during which the Truth preserves him from the danger of error as it will hereafter protect him from the perils of the Midst. I shall quote only the opening verses:

<sup>46a</sup> Cf. Acta Joannis AAA, II, 1, 214, 4; [the dying Apostle prays] "As I come to Thee, may fire withdraw, darkness be vanquished, chaos enfeebled, may the furnace go out, hell be quenched, may angels follow, demons fear, rulers collapse, powers fall, may the Places on the right stand still, those on the left not stay, may the devil be muzzled, Satan laughed to scorn . . . grant that I may finish a Way to Thee free of violence and despite" (*ἀνύβριστον καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστον*).

<sup>46b</sup> I.e. the Cross, (*ξύλον*). Compare Ode XLII, 3, where the Wood is the finger post pointing up to the heavenly Way. Here the Way is as steadfast as the Cross and all it symbolizes.

<sup>47</sup> Read 3 pl. fem.

<sup>48</sup> All but a quotation from Rom. 4 12, as rendered by the Peshitta.

- (1) I ascended into the Light of Truth as though into a vehicle,  
 (2) and the Truth took me and brought me  
 and carried me over gulfs and chasms,<sup>49</sup>  
 and from the rocks and waves it preserved me,  
 (3) and was to me a vessel<sup>50</sup> of salvation  
 and set me on the steps<sup>51</sup> of immortal life.

The new MS has preserved the true reading of the last verse. After bringing the Christian safely through the spiritual dangers which threaten him on earth, the Truth places his feet at death upon the steps of the heavenly ladder.

Verses 14-16 describe the appearance of the Star of Bethlehem. "The Head came down to the Feet"—the Head is Christ, the Feet the souls in the lowest regions. The conception of Christians as the spiritual body of Christ is of course very common without as well as within Gnostic circles, but the designation of any special class of souls as his "Feet" occurs, so far as I know, only in this Ode and in Ode XLII, where, speaking of his descent into hell, Christ says:

- (18) The Feet and Head he (death) let go,  
 for they were not able to endure my face.

But in 14<sup>b</sup> "because to the feet the wheel had run," the "feet" are the "feet" of the zodiac, the sign of the Fishes, and in 16<sup>a</sup> "and there was seen at its head," the "head" is that of the zodiac, the sign of the Ram. — The notion that the Ram is the first of the signs, their leader, and the "head of the universe," seems to have been first given currency by that Bible of the astrologers, the books ascribed to Petosiris and Nechepso, in which it was taught that at the creation of the universe Cancer, the Crab, was in the horoscope (the rising sign), and that the Ram, therefore, was at that time in the midheaven or superior culmination.

<sup>49</sup> N., "hollow chasms"; probably a combination of two variant readings.

<sup>50</sup> The context forbids "harbor."

<sup>51</sup> N., or "ladder," Burkitt; H., "arms."



"Why they decided that the twelve signs begin with the Ram is now to be explained. . . . Upon reviewing the Nativity of the universe, which, as we have said, was constructed very carefully by the wisest of men [*i.e.* Petosiris and Nechepso], I have found that the superior culmination of the Nativity lay in the Ram. And so for this reason, because often, in fact always, the superior culmination takes in all nativities the controlling position, and because this place is first overhead and because we infer from this place the principles of the whole Nativity, all the signs appropriately take their rise from this sign, especially because most of the stars and in particular the two luminaries, *i.e.* sun and moon, dispatch their rays towards this sign. All nations then are agreed that the constellations begin with this sign."<sup>52</sup>

The extension of the metaphor to the other signs of the zodiac was no doubt favored by the current association between the signs and the several parts of the human body. The head was supposed to be under the influence of the Ram, the neck under that of the Bull, and so on, the feet being under that of the Fishes.<sup>53</sup> The direct application of the names of the parts to the signs themselves is not so common, but is implied by Sextus Empiricus' language and is stated directly by Hephaestion of Thebes.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> J. Firmicus Maternus, *Astr.*, iii, 2 (Pruckner, p. 48). Cur autem initium signorum duodecim ab Ariete esse uoluerunt, etiam nunc explicandum est . . . Retractans itaque genituram mundi, quam diximus a sapientissimis uiris prudentissime esse compositam, inueni MC geniturae in Ariete esse positum. Ob hoc itaque, quia frequenter, immo semper MC in omnibus genituris possidet principatum, et quia hic locus supra verticem primum [primus? Kroll's text is not accessible to me] est, et quia ex hoc loco totius geniturae fundamenta colligimus, opportune ex hoc signo initium signis omnibus datum est, praesertim cum maxima pars stellarum, sed et ambo lumina scilicet sol et luna radios suos in hoc signum miserint. Inde omnibus gentibus, siderum initium ex hoc signo inchoari conuenit. See Bouche-Leclercq, *L'Astr. Gr.*, pp. 185 sqq.; 129, n. 1.

<sup>53</sup> So from Manilius onward. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 319, 320.

<sup>54</sup> Sext. Emp. Adv. Astr. (V), 21, κριὸν μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν ὀνομάζουσι . . . ἰχθύας δὲ πῶδας. Fabricius not. ad. loc. Hephaestio Thebanus: τὸ κατὰ τὸν κριὸν δωδεκατημόριον κεφαλὴν τοῦ κόσμου προσαγορεύουσιν — ταύρον τράχηλον τοῦ κόσμου προσηγόρευσαν . . . atque ita de caeteris.

Pisces then, the Fishes, are the feet of the zodiac, and Aries, the Ram, is its head. By the revolution of the Wheel the poet must intend to signify the apparent westward movement of the zodiac with reference to the sun (more commonly described as the sun's movement eastward through the zodiac):

The sun then, at the time of Christ's descent, has at least reached the Fishes. But that which had alighted upon the Wheel "was a letter of command that all the Places should assemble." In astrology, "place" (τόπος) signifies any region or point recognized as possessing special properties; it has also a special sense which is not here relevant (Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, ch. 9). But in the pure idealism of the Valentinian Gnostics, which recognized no existent save the conscious existent, "place" and the spirit or mind of that "place" or region are one and the same (see p. 172).

So Irenæus<sup>55</sup> says of the Valentinians:

"They say that the seven heavens are intelligent and assume them to be angels, and that the Demiurge is himself an angel resembling God; as also they say that Paradise, which is above the third heaven, is virtually a fourth angel, and that Adam received something from it when tarrying in it." In the Valentinian system described by Hippolytus,<sup>56</sup> "place" was the technical term for that grade of conscious being which was termed "psychic." It was less bright than spirit, its luminosity being reduced to a dull glow; its consciousness is of the kind represented in ourselves by sensation and sense perception. It occupies the entire Hebdomad.

<sup>55</sup> Hæc., i, 1, 9 (Harvey, i, p. 44). Τοὺς δὲ ἑπτὰ οὐρανοὺς εἶναι νοερούς φασιν· Ἀγγέλους δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποτίθενται, καὶ τὸν δημιουργὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἄγγελον Θεῷ ἑοικότα· ὥς καὶ τὸν Παράδεισον ὑπὲρ τρίτον οὐρανὸν ὄντα, τέταρτον Ἀγγέλου λέγουσι δυνάμει ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τι εἰληφέναι τὸν Ἀδὰμ διατετριφότα ἐν αὐτῷ.

<sup>56</sup> Ref., vi, 32 (p. 280, D. & S.): "Ἔστι δὲ πυρώδης, φησιν, ἡ ψυχικὴ οὐσία, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ τόπος [μεσότητος] ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἑβδομάς καὶ παλαιὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν. D. & S. are probably right in rejecting μεσότητος, but it is possibly genuine, or may represent καὶ μεσότης. Cf. sub. κατὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ μέρος θνητὴ τις ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ, μεσότης τις οὖσα, and Ptolemy to Flora (quoted note 8). The same terminology is used in the Excerpts, 2, 9, § 38, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Τόπος πύρινός ἐστι.

In Pistis-Sophia *τόπος* is one of the most common words, and is substantially equivalent to "spiritual being."

In the present passage of Ode XXIII the "places" are almost certainly the planets, together with the other spiritual beings of the planetary region, and the poet imagines them as summoned by the letter to greet and to yield themselves to Christ.

The earliest occurrence of this conception is in Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians (about A.D. 115).<sup>57</sup>

"And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing, and likewise also the death of the Lord — three mysteries to be cried aloud — the which were wrought in the silence of God. How, then, were they made manifest to the æons? A star shone forth in the heavens above all the stars; and its light was unutterable, and its strangeness caused amazement; and all the rest of the constellations, with the sun and moon, formed themselves into a chorus about the star; but the star itself far outshone them all; and there was perplexity to know whence came this strange appearance which was so unlike them. From that time forward every sorcery and every spell was dissolved, the ignorance of wickedness vanished away, the ancient kingdom was pulled down, when God appeared in the likeness of man into newness of everlasting life; and that which had been perfected in the counsels of God began to take effect. Thence all things were perturbed, because the abolishing of death was taken in hand."

The same thought occurs in the hymn of praise which in the

<sup>57</sup> (Lightfoot's translation and text) ch. 19: Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἀρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. πῶς οὖν ἐφανερώθη τοῖς αἰῶσιν; ἀστὴρ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔλαμψεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀστέρας, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκλάλητον ἦν, καὶ ξενισμὸν παρεῖχεν ἡ καινότης αὐτοῦ τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀστραῖμα ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ χορὸς ἐγένετο τῷ ἀστέρι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερβάλλον τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντα· ταραχὴ δὲ ἦν πύθεν ἡ καινότης ἡ ἀνόμοιος αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν ἐλύετο πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμός, ἡφανίζετο κακίας ἀγνοια, καθηρεῖτο παλαιὰ βασιλεία [διεφθείρετο], Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερουμένου εἰς καινότητα αἰῶλου ζωῆς· ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ Θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον. ἔθεν τὰ πάντα συνεκινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν.



Syriac text of the Acts of Judas Thomas immediately follows the Song of the Pearl :<sup>58</sup>

"To be glorified art thou, the Father, Lifegiver (or Saviour) of all, who didst (or, dost) assemble the worlds for thy glory through (or, by the hand of) thy Beloved, that they might make praise to ascend to thee."

In Ode XXII, which deals with the same theme, — the descent of Christ in order to prepare a Way from earth to heaven, — this "assembling" of the planets again figures :

- (1) Thou that didst bring me down from on high<sup>59</sup>  
and take me up from the [regions] beneath, —<sup>60</sup>
- (2) Thou that didst assemble the [regions] between  
and send them to me,
- (3) Thou that didst scatter my enemies and my adversaries,
- (4) Thou that didst give me power over the prisoners  
that I might release them,
- (5) Thou that didst destroy by my hands the Serpent  
with seven heads,  
and hast set me over his roots<sup>61</sup>  
that I might destroy his seed : —
- (6) Thou wast with me<sup>62</sup> and didst help me,  
and everywhere<sup>63</sup> thy Name surrounded me.<sup>63a</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Wright, vol. i, p. 281 (vol. ii, p. 247). This hymn is omitted in all Greek MSS; a German version will be found in Hennecke, *Handbuch*, pp. 592-593.

<sup>59</sup> pl. points, with Labourt.

<sup>60</sup> The Syriac words for "regions beneath" and "regions between" are adjectives in the f. pl. and have no such technical meaning as is suggested by "places." But the "regions between" are quite certainly the "Places of the Midst," the spiritual beings of the Hebdomad, which are "assembled" and "sent," more literally "impelled," to meet the descending Christ. The word properly means, "throw," but is used by the Peshitta, J. 20 <sup>25</sup>, to translate βάλλειν in its weaker sense of "put." The text "send them to me" is that of N. H. has "send me."

<sup>61</sup> "root," N.

<sup>62</sup> So Coptic; H. and N., "there."

<sup>63</sup> *I.e.* in every Place.

<sup>63a</sup> So N. (translated by Burkitt "rampart" (?)) and Coptic. H. has "thy name was blessed by me." The "Name" here probably represents the mystery garment which bears the mystery-names. See p. 185; compare, also, the "seal" of Ode IV, 8, wherewith the elect archangels are clad; the

- (7) Thy right [arm] destroyed his evil poison  
and thy hand leveled the Way for these that believe  
in thee.
- (8) And thou didst choose them from the graves,  
and didst separate them from the dead ;
- (9) Thou didst take dead bones  
and didst cover them with flesh ;
- (10) They were motionless,  
and thou didst give them the activity of life.<sup>64</sup>
- (11) Indestructible was thy Way,  
and thy Face<sup>65</sup> thou hast brought to thy world for  
[its] destruction  
that all things should be dissolved and renewed.
- (12) Thy Rock shall be the foundation of all things,  
and upon it thou hast built thy kingdom  
and it has<sup>66</sup> become the dwelling-place of the saints,  
Hallelujah.

Returning to the text of Ode XXIII : after the assembling of the Places, "there was seen at its [the Wheel's] head, the Head that was revealed, the Son of Truth from the Father Most High." When the great light which is Christ reaches the zodiac he is seen from earth as a new Star, and this Star, which is the Son of Truth, the Head of all spiritual beings, appears, as is appropriate, in the sign of the Ram, which is the head of the zodiac and of the world (see p. 191).

Verses 17 and 18 describe the establishment of Christ's Kingdom on earth. The "thought of the Many" is a con-

heavenly Robe of the Song of the Pearl ; Acta Phil., AAA, I, 1, 86, 5 ; clothe me with thy glorious robe, thy luminous seal which always shines," and Ode XXXIX, 7.

<sup>64</sup> So N. and Coptic : H. "aids to life."

<sup>65</sup> The use of "face" in the Odes is perplexing. In XLII, 18, "they were not able to endure my face," it is used in the familiar semi-metaphorical sense ; here one might, with slight change of meaning, substitute "presence." In XXV, 4, "because thy face was with me, which saved me by thy grace," it seems to mean, not literal, but virtual or spiritual presence. In XXXI, 5, "his (Christ's) face was justified," it can hardly be distinguished from the simple pronoun "he." In the present passage it is used apparently in the second of the above senses. Compare Clem. Alex. Exc. Theod., § 11 *πρόσωπον δὲ πατρὸς ὁ υἱός, δι' οὗ γνωρίζεται ὁ πατήρ.*

<sup>66</sup> So Gunkel, and N. ; H., "thou hast."

ception which belongs to the sphere of Gnostic Idealism, a theme which I hope to study, in its bearing upon the Odes, at some other time. "Apostates" also is a technical Gnostic term<sup>67</sup> for the lower spirits. It has its root in the theory that the fall of these spirits was due to their assertion of self-will, which constituted rebellion against the higher law and made them apostates.

Verses 19-20 form the epilogue and call for no especial comment.

If I am right in my interpretation of verses 14-16, certain interesting questions suggest themselves.

One may deduce from the Ode three indications of the time at which the author supposes the Star to have appeared:

1. Before its appearance the sun is in the Fishes.
2. The planets are assembled.
3. The Star appears in the Ram.

From the third a fourth may be inferred. Since the sign of the Fishes lies to the west of the Ram, if the sun was still in the Fishes when the Star appeared in the Ram, the sun would rise before the Star, in which case the Star would be invisible by night, save for a short time after sunset as an evening star in the western sky. But a star when setting was regarded by astrologers as in an inferior and weakened state, and no astrologer would have represented the Star of Bethlehem as appearing in such a humiliating position. He would more probably have conceived it as a morning star, especially in view of the fact that the words of the Magi, "We have seen his star in the east," might be interpreted as meaning that they had seen it in the eastern sky. It is then probable that when the Star appears in the Ram the sun has passed out of the Fishes and at least some distance into the Ram. But if the Star is to be visible as a

<sup>67</sup> *E.g.* Hipp. *Ref.*, vi, 38, p. 292, Secundus . . . τὴν ἀποστᾶσαν καὶ ὑστερήσαν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα αἰώνων λέγει γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν. Exc. Theod., § 8, "καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλαβεν," οἱ ἀποστατήσαντες καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἔγνωσαν αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ θάνατος οὐ κατέσχευεν αὐτόν.



morning star, it cannot be too near the sun, for then it would be lost in his light. From a very early period astronomers had decided that a morning or evening star must be at least half a sign or  $15^\circ$  distant from the sun, but at a later period more exact calculations led to the conclusion that the interval might be as small as  $8^\circ$  for the brightest planets and would have to be as great as  $18^\circ$  for the most dim.<sup>68</sup> Of the two methods of estimation the first is the more common and the more likely to be used by any one not a trained astronomer.

In order to translate these astronomical indications into a date of the Julian calendar, it is necessary to know what relation the author assumed between the equinoxes, the signs of the zodiac and the calendar. Upon this question the Odes throw no light, and one is forced to resort to conjecture.

The zodiac originated in Babylon prior to 2000 B.C. (Kugler, *Sternkunde*, i, p. 33), and its signs were originally determined by reference to certain constellations. Its position therefore among the stars was fixed. The equinoctial and solstitial points were also believed to occupy fixed positions on the ecliptic, although it is not certain what those positions were. Kugler has discovered in Babylonian tablets of the later age two different positions assigned to the spring equinox, one, between 174 and 151 B.C., at  $10^\circ$  of the Ram, and another, between 103 and 100 B.C., at about  $8^\circ$ . The latter was, he has shown, the position recognized by the Babylonian astronomer Kidinnu, the Kidenas of Greek writers, who was one of the chief sources whence the Greco-Roman world drew its knowledge of Babylonian astronomy.<sup>69</sup>

The early Greek astronomers certainly learned the elements of their science from the Babylonians, but it is impossible to determine the extent of their indebtedness, nor do

<sup>68</sup> Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, p. 111, n. 3.

<sup>69</sup> My information is drawn chiefly from Kugler, *D. babylonische Mondrechnung*, 1900, §§ 37, 60, 61; *Sternkunde u. Sterndienst in Babel*, vol. i, 1907, pp. 25, 28-31, 172-176; vol. ii, 1910-12; *Im Bannkreis Babels*, 1910, pp. 117-126; F. Cumont, *Babylon u. d. gr. Astronomie*, in *N. Jahrb. f. d. kl. Alt.*, 1911; *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, 1912, pp. 58-72.

we know precisely at what point or points on the ecliptic they located the spring equinox. According to Hipparchus (*Comm. in Arat.*, p. 132, 6 Manitius) "all or nearly all the ancient mathematicians" placed it at the beginning of the Ram, yet Eudoxus, he says (*op. cit.*, p. 132, 10), places it in the middle. On the other hand, Columella alleges (*De re rustica*, ix, 14, *ap.* Kugler, *Mondr.*, p. 105) that Meton and Eudoxus placed it in the eighth degree. At all events, Hipparchus was the first to discover, about 130 B.C., the precession of the equinoxes, and was the first to propose that the position of the zodiac should be determined, not by reference to the fixed stars, but by the spring equinox, that the equinox should always be regarded as the first point of the Ram, and that the zodiac therefore should revolve with the equinox westward among the stars.

Cæsar's reform of the calendar in 45 B.C. seems to have been in more ways than one a compromise measure (Ginzell, *Handb. d. math. u. tech. Chronologie*, ii, pp. 284-5). Acting probably upon the advice of the astronomer Sosigenes, who in turn followed Kidinnu (cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, ii, sq., *ap.* Cumont, *Bab. u. d. gr. A.*), he decreed that the spring equinox should be fixed in the eighth degree of the Ram, but, in order to bring the position thus assigned into accord with the observed phenomena, he caused the zodiac to be shifted westward far enough to make the eighth degree coincide with the supposed equinoctial point of his own time (so Kugler, *Mondr.*, p. 106). He also decreed that the equinox should fall upon March 25th of the Roman calendar. Cæsar's location of the equinox seems to have been generally accepted by Roman writers for at least 200 years. The eighth degree is recognized by Manilius (iii, 257) and Vitruvius (ix, 3, 3) in the age of Augustus; by Thrasyllus, astronomer to Tiberius (*Cat. Codd. Astr. Graec.*, viii, pt. 3, p. 99); by Columella (xi, 2 and 14) and Pliny (*H.N.*, xviii, 59), in the last half of the first century, and by Vettius Valens in the last half of the second (ix, 11, *ap.* Cumont, *Bab. u. d. gr. A.*). But about the middle of that century Ptolemy decided in favor of Hipparchus's method, and his

ever growing influence ultimately resulted in the disappearance of that of Sosigenes. In the second century of our era, therefore, both locations of the spring equinox, in the eighth and in the first degree of the Ram, were recognized and may be assumed to have been known to any one even slightly acquainted with astronomy.

As regards the relation of the equinox to the calendar, similar uncertainty prevails. Cæsar had placed it on March 25th. Ptolemy calculated that it fell in 137 A.D. on March 22d (Boeckh, *D. vierjähr. Sonnenkreise d. Alten*, p. 237). It is quite possible that other equivalents were recognized in the numerous local calendars which still survived in the Roman Empire.

The requirement that the morning star must be not less than  $15^\circ$  distant from the sun also admits of a double interpretation. To make sure of a  $15^\circ$  interval between the sun and a star in the first degree, the sun must be in the 17th. But as the  $15^\circ$  requirement is itself arbitrary, it is probable that most persons would have regarded it as satisfied when the sun was in the 16th.

Applying these principles in the data afforded by the Ode :

(1) If the equinox occurs on March 25th in the eighth degree of the Ram, the sun will be in the 16th degree on April 2d.

(2) If it occurs on March 25th in the first degree, the sun will be in the 17th degree on April 10th.

(3) If it occurs on March 22d in the first degree, the sun will be in the 16th degree on April 6th.

The first determination uses the data of the Roman calendar ; the second uses the Hipparchus-Ptolemy zodiac, but accepts the calendar date for the equinox ; the third differs from the second only in substituting Ptolemy's corrected date for the equinox, and in reckoning the interval<sup>70</sup> as 16 instead of 17 degrees.

<sup>70</sup> I have assumed, in assigning the above values, that they do not take the precession of the equinoxes into consideration, but assume for the beginning of the Christian era the values recognized at the time the computations were made. The third is in fact by far the most accurate, for March 22d, the



The first is the date calculated by the Roman Hippolytus early in the third century, and is inscribed upon the base of his statue, now in the Lateran Museum.<sup>71</sup> The second precedes by nine months the date assigned the Baptism by the majority of the Basilidean Gnostics in Alexandria about 200 A.D. The third precedes in like manner the date for the Baptism recognized by the minority of the same sect at the same time.<sup>72</sup>

At a somewhat later period it was assumed by nearly all Christians except the Valentinian and some other Gnostics (Iren. Adv. Haer., I, i, 1; vol. i, p. 12, Harvey; Epiph. Haer. 51, §§ 23, 28) that Christ was baptized on his thirtieth birthday. Valentinus and his school denied it because they wished to represent Christ's entire life on earth as comprising exactly 30 years, to correspond to the 30 æons. Of Basilides' views we know nothing, but, as he did not hold that the æons are exactly 30 in number, he had not that motive for dissenting with Valentinus from the current view. It is therefore probable that Jan. 6th and Jan. 10th are the dates of the Birth as well as of the Baptism, and correspond to April 6th and April 10th as dates for the Annunciation. It is probable that some, at least, of the other dates proposed in the early ages for the leading events in Christ's life were reached by astronomical and astrological calculations. Clement of Alexandria reports (Strom., i, 21;

date assigned by Ptolemy, is nearer the true time of the spring equinox for the first year of our era than for the year 137. The date of the equinox in Babylon for the year 0 may be calculated from Ginzels table (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 101) at 3 h. 43 m. A.M. on March 22d; in 137 A.D. it fell on March 21st. But we cannot credit unknown Gnostics with better astronomical knowledge than the greatest astronomer of his age possessed.

<sup>71</sup> Voigt, *Gesch. Jesu u. d. Astronomie*, p. 89; Hipp., *Opera*, ed. Fabricius, p. 38: *Προ δ' ὧς Ἀπρεὶ γένεσις* Xs. Voigt interprets *γένεσις* as "conception." If it means "birth," which seems to me more probable, the above explanation would still hold, but it would be necessary to assume that Hippolytus supposed the appearance of the star to the Magi to be contemporaneous, not with the Annunciation, but with the Nativity.

<sup>72</sup> Strom., i, 21, 146 (Stählin, ii, p. 90). *Οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Βασιλίδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐορτάζουσι προδιανυκτερεύοντες (ἐν) ἀναγνώσεσι, φασὶ δὲ εἶναι τὸ πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τὴν πεντεκαιδέκατην τοῦ Τυβὶ μηνός, τινὲς δὲ αὐτὴν ἐνδεκάτην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός.*

vol. i, pp. 407, 16-408, 10, Potter) as proposed dates for the Nativity, besides Nov. 18th, which he himself accepts, May 20th (*γένεσις* cannot here mean "conception" I think, but cf. Voigt, p. 86) and April 19th and 20th. The treatise *de Pascha Computus*, ch. 19 (written 243 A.D., see Voigt, n. 300) gives March 28th. Epiphanius speaks of June 20th or May 21st, he seems uncertain which (Haer. 51, 29; ii, 494, 26 Dind.), as proposed in some book he has read. The fact that such computations were employed has long been known and many scholars have endeavored to reconstruct them; but, save in the case of those dates which were coincident with or obviously dependent upon the equinoxes, solstices, and Paschal moon, their efforts have met with little success. It was easy to supply data that would lead to the date given, but not so easy to prove that these were the data used. The 23d Ode gives us for the first time, so far as I have been able to learn, a datum which certainly would have been used — the supposed fact that the Star appeared in the "head of the Wheel." The remaining data necessary to the solution of the problem are supplied from contemporary practice.

It is well known that Jan. 6th was long celebrated as the anniversary of both the Birth and the Baptism. It was not until the 4th and 5th centuries that a special day, Dec. 25th, was set aside as the festival of the Birth. But it is not definitely known for which of the two events Jan. 6th was originally selected. Conybeare (*Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., s.v. *Epiphany*) has adduced much evidence in favor of the view that it was selected for the commemoration of the Baptism solely because a great Egyptian Nile festival was celebrated on that day. But this fails to account for the division of opinion among the Gnostics as between Jan. 6th and Jan. 10th. It is more probable that the dates were originally calculated for the Birth by the methods above suggested, Jan. 10th, to which the majority adhered, being the original determination, Jan. 6th representing a correction based upon Ptolemy's more accurate computation of the current date of the equinox. The interest of the Basilidean and other Gnostics in astrology and astronomy is well known,

and it is not improbable that they were among the first Christians to base such calculations upon the data afforded by the Gospels. Moreover, although the date had been calculated for that of the Birth, they would use it to fix that of the Baptism, and celebrate the latter only, inasmuch as they held that the divine Christ descended upon the man Jesus for the first time at his baptism. Their reasoning, if Hippolytus' account is to be trusted, must have run somewhat as follows: Jesus, no less than common men, was subject to the control of the stars,<sup>73</sup> and this was the reason why his conception was attended by such extraordinary phenomena. The Star signified that the great light had descended from the Ogdoad to the Hebdomad (cf. p. 185) and was engaged in the redemption of its inhabitants. From the Ogdoad and the Hebdomad a pneumatic and a "psychic" element descended upon Mary, and Jesus was conceived.<sup>74</sup> Thereafter everything occurred as narrated in the Gospels. So he was born at the expiration of nine months, on Jan. 10th. On the anniversary of that day he was baptized by John, "and the light which had descended from the Ogdoad above to the Son of the Hebdomad, descended from the Hebdomad upon Jesus, son of Mary, and he was illuminated, being simultaneously enkindled by the light that shone into him."<sup>75</sup>

But the coincidence of the Nile festival with Jan. 6th was no doubt the reason why that date alone, among all its com-

<sup>73</sup> Hipp. Ref., vii, 27, p. 376, D. & S.: *ὅτι δὲ, φησίν, ἕκαστον ἰδίους ἔχει καιροῦς, ἱκανὸς ὁ σωτὴρ λέγων. "Οὐπω ἦκει ἡ ὥρα μου," καὶ οἱ μάγοι τὸν ἀστέρα τεθεαμένοι· ἦν γὰρ, φησί, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ γένεσιν ἀστέρων καὶ ὥρων ἀποκαταστάσεως ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ προλελογισμένος σωρῶ.*

<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.*, 27, p. 374: *ἰδ.* p. 378: *"Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς γεγέννηται κατ' αὐτοὺς ὡς προεῖρήκαμεν. Γεγεννημένης δὲ τῆς γενέσεως τῆς προδοδηλωμένης, γέγονε πάντα ὁμοίως κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ὡς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γέγραπται.*

<sup>75</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 374: *Κατῆλθεν [οὖν] ἀπὸ τῆς ἐβδομάδος τὸ φῶς, τὸ κατελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀγδοάδος ἀνωθεν τῷ υἱῷ τῆς ἐβδομάδος, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τῆς Μαρίας, καὶ ἐφωτίσθη συνεξαφθεῖς τῷ φωτὶ τῷ λάμψαντι εἰς αὐτόν.* Hippolytus' account is obscure, for he proceeds to identify this event with the Annunciation—*τοῦτο ἐστὶ, φησί, τὸ εἰρημένον· "Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ," τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς υἱότητος διὰ τοῦ μεθορίου πνεύματος ἐπὶ τὴν ὀγδοάδα καὶ τὴν ἐβδομάδα διελθὼν μέχρι τῆς Μαρίας, κτλ.* I have above assumed that both the spiritual and psychic elements, *i.e.* those from the Ogdoad and the Hebdomad, descended upon Mary, and that at the baptism that which descended was the "Sonship" from the highest realms of light.



petitors, survived as a feast of the church. Although first suggested by the Gnostics, it would readily win the favor of Egyptian Christians generally, and the ritual associations of the water festival would aid in keeping it for all what it had been from the beginning for the Gnostics — a commemoration primarily of Jesus' second birth in the water of baptism of the Spirit, and only secondarily of his physical birth of Mary. From Egypt it must have spread rapidly over the Christian world during the third century.

But it must have been in the second century that some speculator, who knew nothing of the Star's alleged appearance in the head of the zodiac, and was not aware that the Roman calendar date for the spring equinox was incorrect even for the first century, concluded that the Annunciation occurred on March 25th and the Nativity on Dec. 25th. The latter date is first suggested in Hippolytus' Commentary on Daniel, about the year 202. If not an interpolation this would indicate that in his earlier years he had held a view which his study of chronology — perhaps of Gnosticism — afterwards led him to change. However that may be, Dec. 25th coincided in Rome with the festival of the winter solstice, the Saturnalia, as Jan. 6th had coincided in Alexandria with the Nile festival. For similar reasons it found favor with the people, and finally, as Rome's ecclesiastical influence spread, came to be generally recognized as the anniversary of the Nativity. But the Annunciation date never attained equal importance. The associations of the festival of the spring equinox had long since been attached to Easter, and although March 25th was and still is recognized by the church calendar as "Lady Day," it has never become as popular a festival as Easter.

Upon similar principles one can explain the curious practice of the church of Edessa in the fourth century. Ephraem celebrated the Annunciation on April 10th, the Nativity on Jan. 6th, two dates not related by the nine months' interval uniformly recognized elsewhere. It is probable<sup>76</sup> that the

<sup>76</sup> In Exod. 12:3 (Vat. Ed., vol. i, pp. 212-213):

"The lamb is a type (mystery) of our Lord, who on the 10th of Nisan entered into the womb. For from the 10th of the seventh month, when Zacharias

church of Edessa before Ephraem's day had celebrated Jan. 10th and April 10th, and that the first date had been displaced by the more generally recognized festival of Jan. 6th. But April 6th never had been much more than the conjecture of a school, it had never been accepted as a feast day by any large number of Christians, and so had not the power to displace the date already accepted at Edessa.

Of the three indications which the author of Ode XXIII gives of the date for the Annunciation which he has in mind, two, the first and third, connected with the assumption that the morning star must be at least  $15^{\circ}$  from the sun, enable us to infer with confidence that April 6th, April 10th, and April 2d are among the dates which would satisfy the

was told of the birth of John, to the 10th of the first month, when Mary was told by the angel, is six months. This is the reason why the angel said to her, 'This is the sixth month for her that was called barren.' On the 10th, then, when the lamb was shut up, our Lord was conceived, and on the 14th, when his type was slain, he was crucified." The same idea occurs, although more briefly stated, Hom. in Nat. Dom., iv (vol. ii, p. 415, A-B).

It will be observed that Ephraem ostensibly calculates the date of the Annunciation from that of Zacharias' vision. But Luke does not in any way indicate the day of the latter, and it is much more probable that the inference ran in the other direction. Ephraem, nevertheless, celebrated the Nativity on Jan. 6th. This is made quite certain by a passage in Hom., iv, in Nat. Dom. (Vat. Ed., vol. ii, p. 415 A):

"The Luminary has conquered and has expressed the type by the degrees he has ascended. It is twelve days since he ascended, and to-day is the thirteenth—a perfect type of the birth of the Son and his Twelve."

The "ascension" of the sun can be nothing but the winter solstice, when he begins to climb from his southernmost point northwards, and Jan. 6th is the thirteenth day from Dec. 25th, the calendar date for the solstice. Epiphanius quotes Ephraem to the same effect, although not in quite the same words, Haer. 51 (ii, 482, 27, Dind.). But in Hom. in Nat. iii. (vol. ii, p. 407 A) he says:

"In December (?) when the seed is hidden in the earth, there sprouted from the womb an ear of life; in April, when the seed is sprouting in the air, a sheaf sowed itself in the earth." The word here used for December, is also used, with the qualification "second," as the name of January. In view of the preceding passage, we must suppose that Ephraem feels at liberty to use it in the less common sense when speaking of a topic with regard to which his hearers could not misunderstand him. Both Morris and Benedictus translate it "December"; Morris renders "Nisan" "March"; Benedictus, "vere novo."

conditions. The second indication, the assembling of the planets, affords some ground, although not a conclusive one, for supposing that April 10th is the date contemplated in the Ode.

Ignatius describes the sun, moon, and constellations as forming a "chorus" about the Star ; Ode XXII refers to the assembling of the "regions of the midst"; the Acts of Judas Thomas to the assembling of the "worlds." What is the origin and significance of this conception ? The passage in the Acts might, perhaps, be explained as an allusion to the appearance of the angels to the shepherds, but the other three cannot. Ignatius speaks, not of angels but of stars ; the "Places," the "regions of the midst" are quite certainly, and the "worlds" are probably, the Gnostic equivalents of the stars—the spirits of the stellar regions. Again, did Ignatius really believe that the stars of heaven left their places and gathered about the Star of Bethlehem ? If so, how did he explain the silence of history ?

There is one simple and natural explanation, which has already been suggested by Professor Voigt<sup>77</sup> as the source of Ignatius' conception.

In April of 6 B.C. the seven planets were in fact assembled within 50° of one another in the zodiac. Such a phenomenon might have escaped mention in history, but it could not have escaped the attention of astronomers and must have been known to those of more than one succeeding century. It is also quite certain that Christian astronomers would have tried to connect so astonishing a phenomenon, occurring not long before Christ's birth, with the Gospel story of the Star. In the passages quoted we have, I think, the vestiges of such speculations.

Similar speculations were advanced in the seventeenth century by Kepler. On Sept. 26, 1604, Mars and Saturn were in conjunction in Sagittarius ; on Oct. 9, Mars and Jupiter were in conjunction ; on Oct. 10, a new and brilliant star appeared close to the two planets. This phenomenon, which excited the liveliest interest among the astronomers and as-

<sup>77</sup> *Gesch. Jesu u. d. Astr.*, p. 125.



trologers of the time, suggested to Kepler a new explanation of the Gospel story of the Star of Bethlehem and the visit of the Magi. His calculations led him to believe that in June, August, and December of the year 7 B.C., Saturn and Jupiter were in conjunction in the Fishes; that in February of 6 B.C. Saturn and Mars were in conjunction in the Fishes; and in March, Jupiter and Mars in the Ram. He proposed the theory that a new star had appeared then, as in 1604, and that the Magi, interpreting the extraordinary conjunctions and the appearance of the new star in accordance with the usual rules of astrology, were able to infer the birth of the King of the Jews.

The downfall of astrology threw Kepler's theory into oblivion, but its leading feature has since awakened renewed interest. Many writers have maintained that, although no new star appeared, the conjunctions of 7 B.C. or of 6 B.C. were themselves the occasion of the story of the coming of the Magi. Some hold that the story is true, although the author of the Gospel has misunderstood the occasion of their journey; others that the whole tale is a legend suggested by the fact, then of course well known, that such conjunctions had taken place about the time of the birth of Christ.

In recent years discussion of the subject has been revived, especially in Germany, where several books and articles have appeared in which the available evidence is adduced and sifted. The latest of these, from which my own knowledge of the subject is chiefly derived, is Prof. H. G. Voigt's *Die Geschichte Jesu und die Astrologie* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1911). He gives a full and valuable review of the literature and endeavors to prove that the grouping of the planets, about April 14, 6 B.C., would, if interpreted by the ordinary rules of astrology, have led the Magi to infer the birth of a personage of importance who might fairly be described as King of the Jews.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>78</sup> In some reviews of Professor Voigt's book, the fact that he believes the visit of the Magi really took place, seems to be regarded as a sufficient reason for discrediting his argument, a method of criticism which quite mistakes the point at issue. If he is right in his contention, a serious objection to the

The conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in 7 B.C. took place, according to Ideler, in May, October, and December, and are therefore excluded by the dates implied in the Ode. Kritzingen has recently calculated that on March 21, 7 B.C., Jupiter rose before sunrise, and on March 31, Saturn in conjunction with Mercury rose in like manner.<sup>79</sup> This again does not correspond with the date indicated by the Ode. But the situation of the planets in April, 6 B.C., described by Voigt (*op. cit.*, pp. 13, 177, and chart at end) and based upon Neubauer's calculations, constituted a veritable "assembling." On the morning of April 14, about 45 minutes before sunrise, Mars was below the horizon in the thirtieth degree of the Ram, the sun, probably with Mercury, about the twenty-second degree, Jupiter just on the horizon in the tenth degree, Saturn in the first degree, at the equinoctial point, Venus at about the nineteenth, and the moon at about the twelfth degree of the Fishes. Thus all seven planets were grouped around the equinoctial point within a space of only 50°, and four of them were visible above the horizon in the eastern sky within the first third of the distance from the horizon to the zenith.

The four days' discrepancy between the date calculated by Neubauer, April 14th, and the date which I have inferred from the indications afforded by the Ode, April 10th, is not of material importance. Granting that Neubauer's calculations are correct, — a matter upon which I can form no

historical character of the account in Matthew is removed ; but the event itself remains unsupported by other evidence than that of the Gospel. Professor Voigt is undoubtedly right in maintaining that the conjunctions of 7 B.C. and 6 B.C. must have awakened intense interest among the astrologers of that age, precisely as those of 1603 and 1604 did among their successors, and there can be no theoretical objection to the effort to determine what interpretation they might have put upon it. But it is not probable that the results attained by any one investigator will command the assent of many others. We know practically nothing of the methods used in practice by astrologers of Persia and Babylonia in the first century B.C., and such evidence as we do possess shows that even at a much later period independent and conflicting systems were in simultaneous use. There is certainly little hope of ascertaining what construction the Magi would have placed upon the phenomena in question.

<sup>79</sup> Voigt, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

opinion,—an astrologer of the second century who knew that this remarkable assembling of the stars took place about the time of the spring equinox, shortly before Christ's birth, and who accepted the story of the appearance of the Star, would almost certainly have inferred that the Star must have appeared in the first degree of the Ram, and would probably have inferred that the sun was  $15^{\circ}$  distant, whether the data before him did or did not warrant the assumption. Ample proof of this assertion may be found in Bouché-Leclercq's illustrations of the astrologer's habitual disregard of even the most evident astronomical facts when they came in conflict with the principles of astrology. But it is also possible that the evidence before the writer indicated April 10th as the day in question; or failed to indicate the date with precision.

The conclusions I have reached may be resumed as follows: Odes XXIII, XXII, VII, and XXXIX involve conceptions closely akin to those the existence of which, in Odes XIX, XXIV, and XIII, I endeavored in my former paper to prove and in substance identical with those of many Gnostic schools. Christ descends from heaven to earth; passes through intermediate regions of the spiritual world; encounters their inhabitants, who desire but are not permitted to know his nature and his mission; assumes dominion, upon reaching the region of the planets, over the spirits that have hitherto through the planets ruled our world, and receives their homage. He is conceived in Ode VII as a being of brilliant light and his path is described as marked by a trail of light leading from the highest heaven to earth, whereby we also are enabled to find our way from earth to heaven. In Ode XXXIX the dangers of the intermediate regions are described as "rivers" and Christ's path as a "bridge" that enables us to cross over them. The homage of the star-spirits is described in Ode XXIII as an "assembling of the Places," in Ode XXII as an "assembling of the regions between" or "of the Midst"; it is to be identified with the "assembling of the worlds" mentioned in the Acts of Judas Thomas, with the "chorus of the stars"



of Ignatius and, in all probability, with the assemblage of all seven planets within  $50^{\circ}$  around the equinoctial point which actually took place in the second week of April of 6 B.C. The "Star in the east" is supposed to appear in the "head" of the "wheel" of the zodiac, the sign of the Ram, soon after the sun has passed through the Fishes, and it is probably supposed to be visible as a morning star. Supplying from computations known to have found acceptance in the second century the data necessary to the determination of a date, three dates are reached which satisfy the conditions, April 2, 6, and 10. All, or their correlative dates for the Birth and Baptism, are known to have been proposed before 200 A.D. April 10 is approximately consistent with the assembling of the planets, and is probably the date contemplated by the Ode. It is also the date accepted for the Annunciation in Ephraem's day by the church of Edessa, although it was inconsistent with the date of the Nativity then accepted by the same church — Jan. 6th. This suggests that it is a survival of an earlier local usage. It is probable that these astronomical and astrological speculations originated among the Syrian Gnostics, about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century, possibly in the school of Saturnilus, the first distinctively Christian Gnostic, who flourished at Antioch and was probably contemporary with Ignatius, the Bishop of Antioch, and with Basilides, who is said to have taught in Alexandria.

Nov. 11, 1912.

## Brief Communications

HEB. מִקָּר, ABUNDANCE

ON page 116 I have stated that we ought to read in Psalm 90 14 שְׁבַעֲנוּ בְּמִכָּר חֶסֶד instead of שְׁבַעֲנוּ בְּבִקָּר חֶסֶד. It might be well to add that we find the same corruption in Psalm 143 8, where we ought to read הַשְׁבִּיעֵנִי חֶסֶד instead of הַשְׁמִיעֵנִי בְּבִקָּר חֶסֶד. Also in Psalm 59 17 we may substitute וְאֶרְנֶן לְמִכָּר חֶסֶד for וְאֶרְנֶן לְבִקָּר חֶסֶד (for ל cf. Psalm 95 1). The reading בְּבִקָּר חֶסֶד may be influenced by Psalm 92 3 where בְּבִקָּר חֶסֶד is, of course, correct.

PAUL HAUPT.

# JOURNAL

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## BIBLICAL LITERATURE

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1912

### PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER, 1911

THE forty-seventh meeting of the Society was held in Sherred Hall of the General Theological Seminary, Ninth Avenue and Twenty-first Street, New York City, on Thursday and Friday, December 28th and 29th, 1911. The first session began at 11.10 A.M., with President Burton in the Chair. The reading of the records was dispensed with, as they had been distributed in print. The Recording Secretary and the Corresponding Secretary read their annual reports, which were accepted and placed on file. Professor Denslow presented the invitation of the General Theological Seminary, making the members of the Society the guests of the Seminary during the sessions.

The President appointed Professors Bacon, Barton, and Jastrow, a Committee to nominate officers. Professor Prince read the Treasurer's report. The Recording Secretary read his financial statement. These two papers were referred to Professors Frame and Betteridge as an Auditing Committee.

At 11.30 Professor Burton gave the Presidential address on "Some Phases of the Synoptic Problem." In view of the general interest shown in this paper, it was voted to open it to discussion. The Vice-President, Professor Paton, took the Chair. The subject was discussed by Professors Bacon, Porter, and Barton, Professor Burton making some remarks in reply.

At 12.35, the President resumed the Chair. Professor Arnold read a paper on "The Passover Papyrus from Elephantine." This was discussed until 1 P.M., when a recess was taken for lunch and social hour.



**Thursday P.M.** The Society resumed its session at 2.25. Papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Jastrow: "On the Original Character of the Atonement Festival." By Professor Wood: "St. Paul's Use of Prophetic and Priestly Scriptures." Professor Hyvernats gave an account of the Coptic manuscripts in the library of Mr. John Pierpont Morgan, and exhibited many facsimiles of these rare papers. Professor Bewer gave the following critical notes: (1) "The Superscription of the Oracle against Edom in Isa. 21 11." (2) "Did the Jews plan to build a Yahweh Temple in Babylonia?" (3) "The Originality of the Samaritan Reading *Gerizim* in Dt. 27 4." Professor Paton read on "Dagon and Dagan," Professor Haupt on "John Hyrcanus's Campaign against the Edomites," Dr. Schick on "Some Difficult Passages in the Psalms." Professor Montgomery presented three notes, as follows: (1) "On *Hoze*, Isa. 12 15." (2) "On *Succoth-Benoth*, 2 Kings 17 30." (3) "On the Name *Ahikar*." Professor Heffern read on "The Four Women in the Genealogy of Christ."

Adjourned for dinner and social hour.

**Thursday evening.** The Society met at 8 in the library. The librarian of the Seminary, Mr. Edward Harmon Virgin, gave a very interesting and familiar talk on some books and manuscripts of especial value, which the library contains, and invited the members to inspect them.

The report of the Director of the American School in Jerusalem, Prof. Charles Rufus Brown, was read by the Recording Secretary. Professor Shepard read on "A Masoretic Manuscript of the Old Testament, of date 1264, in the Library of the General Theological Seminary."

The remainder of the evening was spent in an informal examination of the rich treasures of the library.

Adjourned at 10.

**Friday A.M., December 29.** The Society met at 9.20. The Council reported that they had reëlected Prof. J. A. Montgomery as Corresponding Secretary, and Prof. B. W. Bacon and Rev. W. H. Cobb as additional members of the Pub-

lishing Committee; also that the time and place of the next meeting are to be arranged in conjunction with the meeting of the Archæological Institute, provided the latter meeting is held not further west than Washington, D.C.

The Council nominated the following active members, who were then unanimously elected:

Prof. Alfred E. Alton, Hamilton, N.Y.  
 Miss Ethel Cutler, B.D., New York City.  
 Rev. F. C. Harding, Yonkers, N.Y.  
 Miss Harriet E. Johnson, Boston.  
 Rev. Robert F. Lau, New York City.  
 Rev. Fred. M. Lindsay, New York City.  
 Rev. George Norcross, D.D., Carlisle, Pa.  
 Rev. Daniel I. Odell, Philadelphia.  
 Prof. Wm. R. Newbold, Philadelphia.  
 Prof. Llewellyn Phillips, Bucknell Univ., Pa.  
 Prof. J. Milton Vance, Wooster Univ., Ohio.  
 Rev. H. B. Vanderbogart, Middletown, Conn.  
 Miss Katrine Wheelock, New York City.  
 Rev. Wm. C. White, Aurora-on-Cayuga, N.Y.  
 Miss Eleanor D. Wood, Wellesley College, Mass.

Professor Wood offered the following resolution: That the thanks of the Society be returned to the General Theological Seminary for the hospitable and bountiful arrangements provided for this meeting. This was adopted by a unanimous vote. Informal remarks were made by several members favoring a closer affiliation between the Society and the School at Jerusalem.

Professor Jastrow, of the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of officers:

Prof. Lewis B. Paton	<i>President.</i>
Prof. George A. Barton	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Rev. Wm. H. Cobb	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Prof. H. P. Smith	} <i>Associates</i> <i>in</i> <i>Council.</i>
Prof. E. D. Burton	
Prof. W. R. Arnold	
Prof. W. R. Betteridge	
Prof. L. W. Batten	} <i>To represent the</i> <i>Society on the</i> <i>Palestine School.</i>
Prof. J. P. Peters	
Pres. Mary A. Woolley	
Prof. A. T. Clay	

These were all unanimously elected.

It was voted to send the Treasurer a set of the Journal to replace one lost in the burning of his home.

It was voted to limit the reading of papers to twenty minutes each. During the remainder of the morning papers were read and discussed as follows: By Professor Schmidt: "The 'God of the Hebrews' in the Paris Magical Papyrus, ll. 3019 ff." By Dr. Poebel: "The Royal Standing-Place in the Temple." By Dr. Vanderburgh: "The Ode on the King of Babylon, Isa. 14 4 b-21." By Professor Barton: "The Hebrew Originals of the Names of Angels and Demons in Ethiopic Enoch." By Professor Stearns: "A Collation of the Papyrus Fragments bearing on the New Testament Text." By Professor Haupt: "The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God." By Professor Moulton: "Irenæus on the Dating of the Gospels." By Professor Yerkes: "Some Notes on the Use of *El* in Genesis." By Professor Montgomery: "New Testament Quotations in the Odes of Solomon."

Adjourned at 1 P.M.

WILLIAM H. COBB,

*Recording Secretary.*

[The List of Members and Constitution and By-Laws will appear at the end of the Volume.]



CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

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CONSTITUTION

I

This association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council,

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

## VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

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BY-LAWS

## I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

## II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

## III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

## IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

## V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

## VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

## VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

## VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

## IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.



The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal*, was adopted June 13th, 1884.

*Resolved:* That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.





# REPORT

## OF

### FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

#### Receipts

	Balance, Dec. 29, 1910 . . . . .	\$87 70
1911	Sales of Journal for the year . . . . .	189 00
Jan. 6,	Sale of offprints (Barry) . . . . .	8 10
Mar. 16,	Sale of offprints (Schmidt) . . . . .	32 50
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		\$317 30
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#### Disbursements

1911		
Jan. 2,	Thomas Todd, printing postals and programmes . . .	19 75
	Bank exchange . . . . .	.40
Feb. 3,	Berwick & Smith, binding . . . . .	1 10
June 13,	Berwick & Smith, presswork on vol. 30, part 1 . . .	66 74
June 14,	Cash to J. D. Prince, Treasurer . . . . .	50 00
July 3,	Thomas Todd, printing wrappers . . . . .	6 10
July 12,	Insurance on volumes in Boston . . . . .	10 20
Dec. 21,	Berwick & Smith, presswork on vol. 30, part 2 . . .	59 38
Dec. 26,	Postage and expressage for the year . . . . .	6 45
June 1,	Distributing Journal, vol. 30, part 1 . . . . .	15 00
Dec. 8,	Distributing Journal, vol. 30, part 2 . . . . .	19 00
Dec. 27,	Balance, in Old Colony Trust Co., Boston . . . . .	63 18
		<hr/>
		\$317 30
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Audited, and found correct, Dec. 28, 1911.

J. E. FRAME,  
WALTER R. BETTERIDGE, } *Auditors.*

**ANNUAL REPORT**  
**OF**  
**THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE**  
**AND EXEGESIS**

*December, 1910, to December, 1911*

**Receipts**

<b>1911</b>	
Jan. 1, Carried forward . . . . .	\$ 115 10
Dues . . . . .	550 20
Dr. Cobb . . . . .	50 00
Initiations . . . . .	120 00
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Total . . . . .	\$835 30
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**Disbursements**

<b>1911</b>	
Columbia Lantern . . . . .	8 00
Dr. Cobb . . . . .	16 00
Dutton & Co., Stationery . . . . .	15 00
J. S. Cushing Co., vol. xxx, pt. 1 . . . . .	315 55
Dr. Montgomery . . . . .	18 97
J. S. Cushing Co., vol. xxx, pt. 2 . . . . .	409 05
Cash in hand . . . . .	52 73
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Total . . . . .	\$835 30
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Respectfully submitted Dec. 28, 1911.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

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